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ABSTRACT

Dual immersion classrooms combine students who speak a non-English language (in this case Spanish) with English speaking students learning the native language of the nonnative English speaking students. This case study recorded the output of Spanish first language (L1) and second language (L2) fifth graders over 5 months of Spanish language classes. The 2,203 turns of speech were coded according to nine sociolinguistic variables. Overall, students used Spanish 56 percent and English 44 percent of the time. Four major trends included the following: (1) girls used Spanish more often than boys, regardless of L1; (2) students averaged 82 percent Spanish when talking with the teacher but only 32 percent when talking to peers; (3) Spanish was mostly used for on-task topics (off-task social turns were made just 16 percent of the time in Spanish); and (4) students' peer English covered a wider range of functions (playing, teasing, and other off-task activity) than peer Spanish. Findings suggest that a kind of diglossia exists in immersion classrooms, with Spanish fulfilling mostly academic functions and rarely being used for socializing, and English being overwhelmingly preferred for social talk. Students who invested in identities as Spanish speakers more frequently spoke Spanish in the classroom, as long as no conflicts existed with their other identity investments. (Contains 37 references.) (SM)

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Kimberly Potowski
University of Illinois at Chicago
[Dissertation completed at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign]

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Language Use in a Spanish-English Dual Immersion Classroom: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

Kimberly Potowski
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ABSTRACT:

Dual immersion classrooms, also known as "two-way" bilingual immersion, combine students who speak a non-English language (in this case Spanish) with English-speaking students who are learning Spanish. In this way, each group learns the other's language. Research on dual immersion indicates that students reach above-average levels of both academic achievement and linguistic proficiency, but to date no one has quantified exactly how much Spanish is used in these schools. Since using a language is crucial for second language acquisition as well as for heritage language maintenance, this study explored how much Spanish was used and for what purposes by students in a dual immersion classroom in Chicago, Illinois.

This case study recorded the output of four fifth-grade students, two Spanish L1 and two Spanish L2, over five months of Spanish-language classes. The 2,203 turns of speech were coded according to nine sociolinguistic variables. Overall, students used Spanish 56% and English 44% of the time, but four major trends were apparent: (1) The girls used Spanish more often than the boys, regardless of L1. (2) The students averaged 82% Spanish when talking with the teacher, but dropped to 32% when talking to peers. (3) Spanish was mostly used for on-task topics; off-task social turns were made just 16% of the time in Spanish. (4) Students' peer English covered a wider range of functions (including playing, teasing, and other off-task activity) than did their peer Spanish.

Despite the presence of native Spanish-speaking students, these findings lend support to proposals that a kind of diglossia exists in immersion classrooms, with Spanish fulfilling mostly academic functions and rarely being used for socializing, and English being overwhelmingly preferred for social talk. Additional ethnographic data gathered through observations and interviews were interpreted using social identity theory, leading to the conclusion that students who invested in identities as Spanish-speakers more frequently spoke Spanish in the classroom, as long as no conflicts existed with their other identity investments.

While it is likely that students learn and maintain more Spanish in dual immersion classrooms than in other program types, diglossia may be inevitable. These findings suggest that students may use more Spanish if closely monitored during groupwork to ensure that they remain on task. Educators may also consider ways to encourage palatable student identities as Spanish-speakers despite the prevalence of English in wider society.

Questions and comments are welcome at kimpotow@uic.edu

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Language immersion is thought to be the most successful of the several types of programs that teach languages other than English[1] at the elementary school level. Immersion delivers a substantial portion of the school curriculum in the second language (L2) rather than treating it as a separate subject, based on the premise that people learn a second language much as they learned their first: by being exposed to natural language use and by being socially motivated to communicate. Learning the language is therefore a byproduct of learning interesting new content material, although a focus on linguistic form often does enter the curriculum in later years.

Canadian immersion programs were established in the 1960s under middle- and upper-middle class parental pressure for more effective French language education. At that time, Quebec was experiencing ethnolinguistic tensions as Francophones began making demands for linguistic and cultural equality (Genesee 1987:8), and French immersion sought to promote "a more fair and a more interesting society... for all ethnolinguistic groups in the Canadian mosaic" (Lambert 1984:9). These were soon followed in the 1970s by similar programs in the United States. Research in both the United States and Canada over the last three decades has indicated that immersion results in the highest levels of L2 competence of all elementary foreign language programs, at little cost to children's first language (L1) development[2]. Additionally, immersion students often develop more positive sociocultural attitudes towards native speakers of the L2 (Lambert 1984:15).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, United States educators began developing a program type called *dual* or *two-way* immersion. These programs integrate in one classroom native-speaking language minority children (those who already speak the non-English language) along with English-speaking children. Instruction in the non-English language can range from 50% to 90% of the school day. The idea is that children can learn their L2 from each other: the presence of approximately equal numbers of native speakers of both languages in the classroom theoretically provides opportunities for students to communicate with native-speaker peers (Christian 1996b), creating benefits for both groups. Unlike typical United States bilingual education programs for language minority students, which seek to transition students to all-English classrooms as soon as possible, dual immersion encourages students' native language development, thus making an important contribution to heritage language maintenance in the country. Additionally, while many bilingual education programs utilize pullout classes that separate students from their English-speaking peers, dual immersion allows students to remain in classrooms with their native English-speaking peers, resulting in linguistic and sociocultural advantages (Christian 1996b). Likewise, native English-speaking students who are learning the non-English language benefit from having native-speaking peers in the classroom instead of relying on the teacher as the sole source of input Genesee (1987:131). As of September 2001, there were 260[3] dual immersion programs operating in elementary schools in the United States in ten different languages, with 244 operating in Spanish (Center for Applied Linguistics 2001).

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[1] In Chapter Two I will explain why language immersion is a valid educational approach for language majority children, but not for language minority children learning English in the United States.

[2] French immersion children's English development was noted to lag behind that of their peers in all-English programs, but immersion students caught up within one year of receiving English language arts instruction (Genesee 1987:43).

Research examining standardized test scores suggests that dual immersion results in the highest levels of academic achievement for language minority students (Thomas & Collier 1997) and, similarly to "regular" immersion models, results in high levels of proficiency in both English and the non-English language for both groups, also measured by standardized tests (Christian et al. 1997). Research in regular immersion has also focused on standardized assessments of students' academic proficiency (Swain &

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[3] This indicates that as of 2001, there were slightly more dual immersion (260) than regular immersion programs (242) in the United States.

Lapkin 1982; Lambert 1984; Cohen 1975). This research focus on test scores in both dual and regular immersion has been necessary to maintain parental and administrative support of immersion programs.

Despite the encouraging findings of standardized tests, we know very little about actual language use in regular or in dual immersion classrooms. According to Genesee, there has been "little systematic documentation of how language is used in immersion classrooms by either students or teachers," leaving us with "an insufficient empirical basis on which to draw firm conclusions about the discourse characteristics of immersion classrooms and, therefore, about the impact of classroom interaction styles on language learning" (1991:190). This remains the case in 2002, with less than half a dozen published studies documenting immersion classroom language use. Tarone and Swain called this lack of classroom research striking, given the "ample evidence that social context can cause the speech of second-language learners to vary substantially in its grammatical and phonological structure" (1995:176). Based on their observations, Tarone & Swain (1995) proposed that regular immersion classrooms become diglossic over time, with students preferring to use English with each other and reserving the L2 almost exclusively for academic purposes, and recent research has supported this claim, including Broner (2000) and my study. Other studies of language use in regular immersion contexts have used very small corpora or have lacked systematic quantification, which do not provide sufficient detail about their classroom language production.

We know even less about students' language use in dual immersion classrooms, which are arguably more complex than "regular" immersion due to the presence of native speakers of the non-English language. Such studies are necessary because combining students from different language backgrounds does not insure that they will interact (Genesee 1985:554), nor that they will do so in Spanish when it is the "official" language of the instructional period. To date, no one has quantified dual immersion students' Spanish use: how much Spanish do they use, with whom, and for what purposes? Does the presence of L1 Spanish speakers increase the amount of Spanish found in "regular" immersion classrooms? Given that most theories of SLA and discussions of Heritage language maintenance recognize the need to actually produce the language, it is crucial to examine students' Spanish output in dual immersion classrooms.

Research in any type of immersion classroom becomes more complex when we acknowledge that classroom opportunities to use Spanish can be given by teachers and by peers, can be created by the students themselves, and can also be resisted by students. Whereas traditional SLA research has utilized the concept of motivation to explain learners' desires to practice their L2, recent qualitative work in the field of English as a Second Language has shown that people's identity investments play an important role in their language use (Willett 1995; McKay & Wong 1995; Norton 2000). These researchers argue that it is necessary to examine learners' reasons for creating and resisting opportunities to use a particular language, since "A learner's motivation to speak is mediated by other investments that may conflict with the desire to speak – investments that are intimately connected to the ongoing production of the learners' identities and their desires for the future" (Norton 2000:120). McKay & Wong (1996) claimed that in order to understand success and failure in language learning, one must move beyond a "language-as-code" approach and instead view the L2 learner as a complex social being. Norton (2000) argues that SLA theory needs to develop a conception of language learners as having complex social identities[4] that must be understood with reference to larger and often inequitable social structures, which are reflected in day-to-day interactions.

Although there have been several in-depth ethnographic studies of dual immersion schools that illustrate the complex sociocultural nature of these environments (Freeman 1998; Carranza 1995; McCollum 1994), to date, investment has not been employed in regular or dual immersion research, yet it has the potential to explain students' language use in immersion classrooms. This study combines a quantification of dual immersion students' classroom language production with a qualitative investigation of their identity investments that may have promoted or hindered their Spanish use.

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[4] Defined by Norton as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (2000:5)

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the patterns of Spanish and English use by four fifth-grade students during Spanish lessons in a dual immersion classroom. Unlike previous dual immersion research, this study used systematic observations and both audio and video recordings of naturally occurring classroom speech of four focal students (two Spanish L1 and two Spanish L2). The students' 2,203 turns, gathered during 12 and half hours of Spanish lessons over a five-month period, were examined according to nine variables: language, class, participant structure, interlocutor, topic, selectedness, mean length of turn, gender, and students' L1. Six of these variables have been examined in "regular" immersion classrooms (although none have been quantified in dual immersion), while the variables selectedness, gender, and mean length of turn are new to immersion study. Percentages of Spanish and English use were calculated for each variable and considered in the analysis.

Findings

Overall, students used Spanish 56% and English 44%, but trends were apparent for interlocutor, gender, and topic. For example, when speaking to the teacher, students used Spanish 82% of the time but dropped to 32% when talking to each other (echoing the findings of Broner 2000). The girls used more Spanish than the boys, regardless of L1, an especially interesting finding since no gender-related language use has been reported in the immersion literature. Being on task resulted in 68% Spanish use, while being off task saw just 17% Spanish use. Further examination revealed that students used English for a much wider variety of functions, such as playing, teasing, and referring to popular culture, which they almost never did in Spanish. Students used more Spanish when the teacher had selected them to speak than when they shouted out without being called on. It was also found that the native Spanish-speaking students were more successful at gaining the floor than were the Spanish L2 students, a dimension that had not previously been examined in dual immersion studies and which is explored in detail in this study.

The study also employed a qualitative research design, including interviews and long-term participant observation, to relate students' identity investments to their language use. It was found that students who had strong investments in using Spanish because it enriched their sense of self or their status within their families and communities used Spanish more often. It was also found that one student with problematic participation habits was not granted the floor as often during Spanish lessons, which limited his opportunities to practice the language. As noted by Gal in research on sociolinguistic communities, macrosocial factors can influence the language choices of speakers through their effects on the shape of social networks and on the statuses speakers want to claim (1979:17). My study therefore takes a sociolinguistic perspective on language use in this dual immersion classroom, using qualitative research methods to explore relevant factors external to the classroom. Qualitative data were also useful when attempting to explain the gender-based differences in language use.

As noted by Elias-Olivares et al. in research on sociolinguistic communities, only after we understand the linguistic habits of its speakers can we begin to formulate a program of language planning that can be implemented (1985:4), and dual immersion is arguably a form of linguistic planning (Freeman 1998). This study suggests that although dual immersion can be a successful model for linguistic and cultural education for both language minority and language majority students, both L1 and L2 students may not be using as much Spanish as educators believe. Nor are they using Spanish for a wide variety of communicative purposes. It suggests that the prevalence of English in the wider society affects students' language use within the classroom, even when Spanish use is fostered by teachers and the curriculum. It also calls for an examination of the structure of peer groupwork, believed by some educators to foster collaborative knowledge construction, but which resulted in high levels of English use in this classroom.

Organization

In Chapter Two I review the literature relevant to regular and dual immersion research, including research on language use in bilingual education classrooms and ethnographies in dual immersion schools. I also review findings of studies on attitudes, motivation, and investment (Norton 2000) in language learning. In Chapter Three, I describe the methodology of the study, including the nine sociolinguistic variables and the ethnographic data collection and analysis methods. In Chapter Four I present the quantitiative findings of language use according to the nine variables. Chapter Five contains the qualitative findings about language use in the school, in the classroom, and in the four focal students' lives, and offers an interpretation of the reasons behind the language use presented in Chapter Four. In Chapter Six I offer conclusions and several points for consideration by dual immersion educators.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE
REVIEW

The present study responds to calls for research on language use in dual immersion classrooms (Tarone & Swain 1995, Broner 2000, Christian 1996b; and others). Since dual immersion carries out the multiple functions of English as a Second Language (ESL) and L1 maintenance for language minority students as well as foreign language immersion for language majority students, this chapter will describe relevant research on classroom language use by both language minority and language majority children in the United States and Canada, focusing particularly on immersion and dual immersion contexts.

2.1 Elementary school second language programs: an overview

Elementary school programs that focus on second language teaching can be divided into two general categories. In the first type are programs that teach the country's majority language to the children of immigrants. In places like the United States and Canada, these usually pertain to bilingual education programs in which English is said to be the "second" language of the children. In the second type are programs that teach a language *not* spoken locally, to students who are native English-speakers. These are usually termed "foreign" language education. The two program types and goals are very different, since children in bilingual education programs have to learn English in order to achieve in school and be successful in the United States, which is much different than studying a foreign language for a few hours a week (Ellis 1994:209)[5]. Since dual immersion combines both program types and goals, this review will first discuss bilingual education and then foreign language education programs.

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[5] Despite these significant differences, the field called "second" language acquisition tends to use the terms "second" and "foreign" synonymously (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991:6; Ellis 1994:12), a practice which will be followed in this study. Similarly, language "acquisition" and "learning" (Krashen 1981) are also often used interchangeably.

2.1.1 Bilingual education programs for language minority students

In the United States, 13% of all school-aged children speak a language other than English at home (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2001). Often referred to as *language minority* students, *Heritage language* students or *Limited English Proficiency*[6] (*LEP*) students, they come from many different countries and cultural backgrounds, although approximately 41% are born in the United States (Campbell & Kreeft Payton 1998). Their first language (L1) oral vocabulary can be extensive, but its use is often restricted to home and community topics and may not extend to academic subjects. Their speech may also differ considerably from what is considered a "standard" or a widely accepted norm of the language.

Three out of four of these students speak Spanish (United States Census 2000). Hispanics comprise the fastest growing minority group in the United States, with census figures indicating that the 1990 population of 22,354,059 or 9% of the nation's total grew to 13.5% in 2000 (United States Census 2000). This group is very diverse, including mainly Mexican Americans (59%) but also Puerto Ricans (9%), Cubans (4%) Dominicans (2%) and Central and South Americans (14%), with varying levels of education and regional dialects. Many of these children must learn English for the first time while attending school. Since the 1974 *Lau vs. Nichols* Supreme Court case, children considered to be of Limited English Proficiency in United States schools must receive language learning support, although the ruling did not stipulate which method schools had to use. This support includes bilingual programs that use the children's first language, English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, or some combination thereof.

The three most common types of bilingual education services for English learners are *ESL*, *transitional* (or *early exit*) bilingual education, and *maintenance* (also called *developmental* or *late exit*) bilingual education, although program labels are often misleading since there is much overlap among and variation within educational treatments (Crawford 1995:243). ESL classes pull out children during a portion of the day for English instruction, which in some schools coincides with the content being taught in the "mainstream" classroom. For most students, ESL classes are the only service available.

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[6] Although the term LEP has been criticized for focusing on children's deficits, it is the term used by the federal government.

In some schools, pullout ESL classes are combined with native language classes. In the native language classes, a portion of instruction is provided in the children's L1 to help them keep up in school subjects like math and social studies while they learn English. In programs labeled *transitional* or *early exit* bilingual education, the goal is rapid transition into all-English mainstream classes, usually within two years (Baker 1996:191). For example, the city of Chicago serves most of its 60,000 LEP students (80% of whom are Hispanic) with a three-year transitional bilingual education program, although some schools offer L1 instruction for more than three years. Recent state legislation in California and Arizona mandates a three-year maximum transitional program, similar legislation has been proposed in New York and Colorado, and President Bush's national proposal emphasizes a similarly rapid three-year transition to English-only classrooms.

Despite the 1974 *Lau vs. Nichols* ruling that all LEP children receive language learning support, research in the 1980s indicated that many LEP children were not receiving the help in learning English that they were entitled to. According to a National Assessment of Educational Progress report, in 1983-1984 some 58% of Spanish-speaking LEP 4th graders and 78% of 8th graders were placed in regular classrooms and not receiving any language support services (Olson 1986). In 1996-1997 still nearly one fifth of LEP children[7] received no language support services (National Council of Bilingual Education 1998).

The most recent data collected by the National Center for Educational Statistics in 1997 indicates the following panorama of national ESL and bilingual education offerings. 76% of public schools with LEP student enrollments provided English as a second language (ESL) programs and 36% had bilingual education programs (which are generally implemented in schools with higher concentrations of LEP students). About one-third of public schools with LEP populations provided both ESL and bilingual education programs, and fully 71% of all United States LEP students were attending these schools. However, thirteen percent of schools with LEP student populations had neither ESL nor bilingual programs, yet three percent of the national LEP population (59,373 students) attended these schools. The report also indicates that only 30% of public school teachers instructing LEP students had received training for teaching LEP students, and fewer than 3 percent of teachers with LEP students had earned a degree in ESL or bilingual education (National Center for Educational Statistics 2001).

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[7] This report was for all LEP children, not just Hispanic.

Programs labeled *maintenance, developmental* or *late exit* bilingual education combine with ESL classes the goal of developing students' L1 skills, so there is less emphasis on exiting students from L1 classes as soon as possible. In maintenance programs, the minority language is often used for half or more of curriculum time, although there is a tendency to teach technological, scientific studies through the majority language (Baker 1996:186). The justification given for this kind of Heritage language education is that a minority language is easily lost, while a majority language is easily gained (Baker 1996:186).

In 1991, Ramirez et al. published the results of a longitudinal study that suggested that late exit programs were better for ESL students because they resulted in greater academic growth than early exit programs. In late exit programs, students' academic achievement accelerated over time and reached national norms by the sixth grade. Students in submersion and early exit programs finished well below national norms. However, the study was criticized for weaknesses in its statistical design and possible incomparability between programs in different school districts, so the National Research Council failed to endorse the study's findings that late exit programs were more successful than early exit and submersion.

Maintenance/late exit programs are thought to be more successful than transitional programs based in part on the interdependence hypothesis proposed by Cummins (1986). According to Cummins (1986), the level of competence a child attains in a second language (L2) learned in school is a function of certain competencies attained in the first language. Specifically, Cummins suggested that the use of certain functions of language and the development of vocabulary and concepts in the L1 are important determinants of L2 school success. These language functions include vocabulary concept knowledge, metalinguistic skills, and the ability to decontextualize language. In late exit, students develop concepts in the L1 which then transfer to subjects they study in English – multiplication learned in Spanish does not have to be re-taught in English.

Cummins (1984) also drew a distinction between two types of language proficiency. Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) refers to informal communicative abilities that all normal children acquire in their L1. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) is strongly related to literacy skills and includes the skills needed to manipulate or reflect upon metalinguistic features outside of an immediate interpersonal context. Cummins hypothesized that children must acquire CALP in order to succeed in school. Since the CALP that a child attains in an L2 is partially a function of the CALP she already has in her L1, maintenance programs that draw from and build on the L1 are said to be more educationally sound than transitional programs that seek to abandon the L1 as quickly as possible.

Most studies of the language acquisition in bilingual education contexts have looked at their ESL development (Hakuta & Gould 1987)[8]. Several have studied teachers' language use in bilingual classrooms (Erickson, Cazden & Carrasco 1979; Shultz 1975; Wong-Fillmore & Ammon 1984), but fewer have studied children's classroom Spanish use. Legarreta (1977) studied five bilingual kindergarten classrooms, in which 65% of the students were Spanish L1. She tallied the language used by teachers and students every three seconds and found that Spanish-speaking students' language use reflected that of the teachers: in concurrent translation classrooms (in which instruction was given in one language and immediately repeated in the other), teachers used English 72% and students used it 71%. During the alternating approach (instruction was in one language until recess and in the other until dismissal), teachers used Spanish 47% and students 49%. Student-student language use was not addressed.

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[8] Since this study focuses on Spanish, these studies of children's English development are not discussed in detail.

Chesterfield et al. (1983) compared the language use of 11 bilingual preschool children, six in three different classrooms in Corpus Christi, TX, and five in two different classrooms Milwaukee, Wisconsin. There were several pedagogical differences in the two sites: Corpus Christi encouraged greater separation of the two languages; five of the six children there spoke some English; and there were more "English-preferring" children. In Milwaukee, both languages were used concurrently; all five children were Spanish monolingual; and there were more "Spanish-preferring" children. During three visits over a one-year period, the authors recorded verbal and nonverbal behaviors through participant observation, written fieldnotes, and videotapes. All utterances were coded according to language, interlocutor (peer, teacher, or ambiguous), type of activity (mealtime, small or large group, playtime) and the language preference of the peer interlocutor.

In Corpus Christi, students used predominantly English in two of the three classrooms. In both Milwaukee classrooms, however, most of the children preferred Spanish. The authors suggested that Corpus Christi teachers may have preferred to emphasize English since children had less access to it in their community (which is close to the Mexican border) than did the children in Milwaukee. The Milwaukee teachers, embedded in an English-speaking community, may have attempted to use more Spanish in an attempt to maintain a more balanced development of both languages (1998:67).

Rodríguez-Brown and Elías-Olivares (1981) found that third graders in Chicago bilingual classrooms produced more questions and directives in their dominant language. Otheguy & García (1997) noted that in classrooms they observed in New York City, teachers were generally familiar with students' Spanish varieties (because they came from the same communities) and allowed students to express themselves freely in those varieties and to compare and contrast lexical items of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in the city. Although this study did not quantify students' Spanish language use, the authors made the useful suggestion that educators in the field of Heritage Spanish education look to bilingual educators for models of encouraging students' Spanish language development.

To date, the field of teaching of Spanish to native speakers has focused primarily on postsecondary institutions, including college placement issues, teacher training, and materials development (Aparicio 1983; Roca, 1997; Colombi & Alarcón 1997). Relatively little has been published on Spanish Heritage use at the elementary school level (Legarreta 1977; Chesterfield et al. 1983; Rodríguez-Brown & Elías-Olivares 1981;Otheguy & García 1997), probably because most elementary school programs focus on students' English development. Since students' Spanish development in lower grades is likely to lead to a continuing development of grade-level competence in Spanish and ultimately to Spanish language maintenance in the United States, it is imperative to study the Spanish use and development of children in elementary school programs that promote Spanish use. Dual immersion classrooms provide a particularly interesting context since children are expected to use Spanish for half of their curriculum.

2.1.2 Foreign language programs for English-speaking students

Bilingual elementary school programs like the ones described above target students who must learn English as a second language in school. Such programs typically do not challenge the mainstream United States assumption of monolingualism in "standard" English for the majority of the population (Freeman 1995:11) in that they do not require English-speaking students to learn another language. Some elementary schools, however, do offer classes in languages other than English for English-speaking children, including Foreign Language in the Elementary Schools (FLES) programs, language immersion, and dual language immersion.

FLES (*Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools*)

FLES (*Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools*) was first developed after World War II as the United States saw a need for intensive language programs for the military that focused on pragmatic, spoken language skills (Pillet 1974). FLES gained popularity due to parental pressure, fueled by research that indicated that the earlier a child started to learn a language, the better (McLaughlin1985:81). FLES pedagogy was largely based on the *audio-lingual method* (Fries 1945; Lado 1957 and others) based on the dominant behaviorist paradigm. A learner's first language was thought to interfere with the acquisition of the second due to ingrained language habits that needed to be overcome. This led to an emphasis on a contrastive analysis of the linguistic structures of the first and second languages, done through repetitive drills using audio feedback in language learning laboratories.

Children received carefully sequenced lessons for a few hours a week, moving from what were considered simple grammar rules to more complex ones and focusing on listening before speaking, reading, and writing (McLaughlin 1985:81). As research on first-language development grew in the 1960's, a number of researchers endorsed the "Total Physical Response" method (Asher 1972). This, too, was based on the idea that children develop their comprehension skills before productive skills, and they were encouraged to do so through silent physical responses to commands to sit, walk, turn, etc. Enthusiasm for FLES began to wane due to a lack of teachers and training; additionally, children proved to be slower in learning languages than psychologists and linguists had predicted, having as much difficulty as they had with other subjects (McLaughlin 1985:84). Many children succeeded in memorizing a corpus of material, but they had little understanding of when to say what to whom.

According to Brannaman & Rennie (1998), a second generation of FLES programs constitutes the most frequently offered foreign language program in elementary schools today. Their survey found that thirty one percent of United States elementary schools[9] offer foreign language programs, 79% of which are of a FLES or Foreign Language Exposure (FLEX[10]) nature, and the most commonly taught languages are Spanish, French, Spanish for native speakers, Japanese, Italian, and American Sign Language. The classes still focus on listening and speaking skills, but a more flexible approach has replaced audiolingualism. For example, the implications of comprehensible input (Krashen 1981), including a focus on authentic communication, have been adopted by many FLES educators.

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[9] The small sample size of 1,534 schools (6% of United States elementary schools) limits the generalizability of the findings.

[10] The goals of FLEX programs are even more modest than FLES: to provide a cursory appreciation of foreign languages and a foundation for later learning in a long-term foreign language program (Branaman, Rhodes & Rennie 1998). FLEX classes typically meet once or twice a week and last from 20 to 30 minutes. Students learn greetings, colors, numbers, and names of foods, sometimes in more than one language.

But much like their predecessors, today's FLES classes present the L2 as a distinct subject, typically taught three to five times a week, with classes lasting anywhere from 20 to 50 minutes (Branaman, Rhodes & Rennie 1997). McLaughlin (1985:85) wrote that the goals of contemporary FLES programs are limited to "some limited oral skills". That is, FLES programs still do not include long-term L2 proficiency goals (Schinke-Llano 1990:218). Only 21% of the surveyed elementary schools (constituting 7% of the one-third that offered foreign language study) offered programs having overall proficiency as one of the goals. If generalizing were possible, this would suggest that only 7% of all United States elementary schools offer instruction in which the students are likely to attain a high level of L2 fluency, as recommended in the goals of the National Standards. Less than 1% of these public schools offered a form of content-based language instruction[11], which some researchers claim may be the most successful FL program model in terms of language development (Snow, Met & Genesee 1989).

Unfortunately, the first wave of FLES programs did not conduct research on how children learned or used foreign languages in the classroom (McLaughlin 1985:85). In the newer programs, Curtain & Pesola (1994) claim that depending on the frequency of the classes and the opportunities provided for practicing the language, children in FLES programs may attain "substantial" L2 proficiency.

Summarizing the current state of foreign language instruction in United States elementary schools, Branaman, Rhodes & Rennie's (1998) survey suggests that well-articulated elementary and secondary programs are the exception rather than the rule. They indicated that it is difficult to generalize from the survey data about the overall L2 proficiency goals and outcomes of FLES and FLEX programs, but that at the elementary level, almost 80% of FL programs aim for a "basic initial exposure" to the language. Intensive instruction that aims at a high level of proficiency, as outlined in the National Standards, is scarce.

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[11] Content-based language instruction teaches language through subject matter, often with minimal focus on language form. Immersion is a form of content-based language instruction.

For example, according to a survey conducted by the National Council of State Supervisors of Foreign Languages (or NCSSFL), supervisors in only 27 states described foreign languages as being part of their state's core curricula – that is, having equal status with the other major disciplines (1994). In 1994, only nine states (Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Montana, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Oregon) included second language study in their core curricula at the elementary school level (NCSSFL, 1994). In Illinois, where my study was conducted, all high school students must complete two years of a foreign language. Although there are no requirements at the elementary level, as of February 2000 there were over 34 elementary schools in the Chicago Public Schools system that offered "World Language" programs of a FLES nature. A 1995 update of the NCSSFL survey (McMillan 1995) indicated that 14 states had developed standards that coincided with the national foreign language standards for elementary schools, suggesting that these standards may be becoming a focus of the reform of state and local curricula; in 2000, New Jersey adopted a statewide requirement of foreing language study in grades K-12.

Language immersion

Even less common in elementary schools than FLES and FLEX programs are language immersion programs. In immersion programs, children are taught the regular school curriculum totally or partially in a foreign language. Canadian immersion programs were established in the 1960s under middle- and upper-middle class parental pressure for more effective French language education. At that time, Quebec was experiencing ethnolinguistic tensions as Francophones began making demands for linguistic and cultural equality (Genesee 1987:8)[12]. In 1965, parents of an Anglophone Montreal suburb convinced the school district to set up an experimental kindergarten French immersion class. An important goal of the program was functional competence in French through its use as a natural means of communication and instruction, but the primary goal was improved relationships *between English and French Quebecois* (Genesee 1987:11). The parents cited their own low French proficiency as evidence of the failure of foreign language teaching in Canada, which typically consisted of an hour of instruction per day.

The goals of French immersion included "functional competence in the L2" in addition to normal levels of L1 competence, grade-level academic achievement, and appreciation for the target language group's language and culture (Genesee 1983:3). Immersion was designed to create the same kind of communicatively-rich conditions that characterize first language acquisition, particularly creating desire in the students to learn the L2 in order to engage in meaningful communication (concepts later crystallized in 1981 with Krashen's input hypothesis). As the SLA field developed, research findings were incorporated in immersion programs. For example, output (Swain 1985) and negotiation of meaning (Long 1981) were found to be important factors in SLA, and researchers argued for their incorporation in immersion classrooms. However, according to Campbell (1984:125), SLA theory was in its infancy during the development of immersion programs in Canada and the United States, and the tremendous advances in the field have been concurrent with, but to a large extent independent of, the history of immersion programs in both countries.

In Canadian immersion programs, Anglophone children are taught the regular school curriculum in French by teachers that present themselves as monolingual. Language learning is content-based, which means that French is learned *through* math, science, and social studies. Despite the limited focus on French grammar, immersion is generally considered to produce higher levels of L2 proficiency than any other FL program type (Genesee 1991:186), although researchers like Swain (1985) have argued that greater focus on L2 form is needed in immersion classrooms.

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[12] For an interesting discussion of the sociopolitical context of French immersion schools in Canada, see Cleghorn & Genesee (1984).

Since students' comprehension of the L2 generally precedes their production of it, they are permitted to use English (which all teachers understand) during the early stages of the program. According to Genesee (1983:7), it is common in kindergarten and the first part of first grade to hear students using English while the teacher uses French. However, as children progress through the grades, they are encouraged to use more French with teachers and peers. Initial literacy instruction is in French, students' L2; English literacy skills are introduced in second grade. Subjects taught in English are added in later grades, so that by sixth grade about half the curriculum is in English and half in French (Swain & Johnson 1997:2)[13].

In elementary school immersion programs, academic proficiency has generally received more research attention than L2 proficiency. Accordng to Swain & Johnson, this is because program evaluators have been primarily concerned with demonstrating to concerned parents and educators that immersion students are not disadvantaged in general academic achievement nor in their L1 development (1997:3). In immersion settings, students' academic achievement[14] is usually compared with that of their non-immersion peers by using both national and local academic proficiency measures. Canadian studies have indicated that children in immersion programs suffer no loss in academic achievement compared to control group peers in traditional all-English programs (Lambert & Tucker 1972; Genesee 1987). As for their English language development, only during the primary grades of early total immersion (prior to the introduction of English language arts instruction) did immersion students score significantly lower than Anglophone control group students (Genesee 1983; Swain & Lapkin 1982). However, this lag was recuperated within a year of having begun English language instruction.

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[13] Several alternatives to early total immersion were developed in Canada, including early *partial* (half of the school day in each language), *delayed* (immersion begins in 4th or 5th grade), and *late* immersion (begins in 6th or 7th grade). Usually French was taught as a subject prior to participation in a delayed or late immersion program (Swain & Johnson 1997:3).

[14] In the United States, academic achievement is usually understood to include math, L1 reading comprehension, social studies, and science. It is typically measured using state and national standardized tests such as the California Achievement Test (CAT), the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS), and the Language Assessment Scales (LAS). These measures often use a combination of multiple choice, cloze, short answer, and written response questions.

Immersion researchers in Canada have also conducted evaluations of students' French proficiency. Genesee (1987) reported that early immersion students scored significantly higher on all measures of French language proficiency (speaking, listening, writing, reading, and linguistic competence) than their peers in mainstream schools who received French as a Second Language instruction. Since the control group received only 20 to 30 minutes of French instruction per day, this may not come as a surprise. More impressive yet more complex were the comparisons to native French-speaking students attending French schools in Quebec. Immersion students scored as well as native French-speaking peers on listening and reading comprehension measures (Lambert & Tucker 1972; Genesee 1978; Harley & Swain 1977) yet their speaking was found to be less native-like. That is, immersion students tended to produce simple French constructions and lexical simplifications and had reduced verb systems, but they understood and read French without difficulty. Swain (1981) argued that this difference between native speaker and immersion students' spoken French was due to the relatively low exposure to French and little opportunity to produce French in immersion classrooms. Other studies have been done of immersion students' language (Lapkin 1984), specific linguistic structures (Harley & Swain 1977; Adiv 1980; Wright 1996) and sociolinguistic proficiency (Swain & Lapkin 1990).

Canadian immersion educators have been careful to remind their United States counterparts that the success of immersion programs does not constitute support for the *submersion* of language minority children in all-English classrooms in the United States[15]. Submersion is the policy of placing LEP children in all-English classrooms without any ESL or L1 support, leaving them to "sink or swim". As mentioned earlier, *Lau vs. Nichols* mandated language support for LEP students, so submersion is technically an illegal practice. Three important features distinguish immersion from submersion. First, in immersion all students have zero L2 competence upon beginning the program. In submersion, LEP students must compete with native English-speaking children in the classroom, with whom they can rarely catch up. Second, immersion teachers are proficient in the children's L1 and permit them to use it during the first few years of the program. In submersion, communication between LEP children and teachers who do not understand the children's L1 is very difficult. Thirdly, immersion constitutes an *additive* environment in which a second language is added at no cost to the L1. Submersion is *subtractive* in that the L1 is usually replaced by English. Submersion of LEP children is thought to "...[produce] a disproportionate number of children who fall behind in class, question their ethnic identity, and drop out of school" (Crawford1995:144).

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[15] Nor does the research on immersion of language majority children support "structured immersion" in English of language minority children.

Soon after the introduction of the first immersion programs in Canada, United States educators began to show interest in immersion programs. After visiting the St. Lambert program in 1971, Campbell (1984:116) helped establish the first early total Spanish immersion program in the United States for English L1 speakers in Culver City, California. It was similar to Canadian models in that all curriculum in Kindergarten and 1st grade was delivered in Spanish, and teachers presented themselves as monolingual in Spanish until English was introduced for the first time in 2nd grade. At that time, teachers also taught in English but did not mix languages in an instructional period. According to Genesee (1987:116) the goals of immersion programs for majority language children in the United States were to produce linguistic and cultural enrichment contexts within the school system; to create magnet schools[16] with a balanced ratio of ethnolinguistic groups of the area; and for English L1 children living in communities with non-English-speaking populations to become bilingual.

The Center of Applied Linguistics reported that as of 1997, there were 242 schools in the United States that offered total or partial immersion (Rhodes & Lynch 1997). Of these, 165 were elementary schools, 57 were middle schools, and 20 had immersion programs in high school. Spanish was the language of immersion at 131 schools, and ten other languages were offered, including French at 73 schools, Hawaiian at 25, Japanese at 19, German in 13 schools, and Arabic, Cantonese, Inupiaq, Russian, and Yup'ik at one school each. According to Met and Lorenz (1997:243), approximately 60% of United States immersion programs are *partial* and 40% are *total* immersion, and all are of the *early* type.

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[16] Magnet schools are public schools that typically offer an "enriched" curriculum. They enroll students from an area wider than the local school district. Parents usually participate in a lottery for their children's admission.

Met & Lorenz (1997:263) wrote that unlike in Canada, few United States immersion programs today formally assess students' foreign language learning because many teachers feel their primary responsibility is for students to demonstrate achievement in the local school district curriculum at a level comparable to their non-immersion peers. These programs often rely on informal teacher judgment of student progress in the L2. However, Stein (1998) studied the acquisition of Spanish agreement by English L1 students in a Spanish immersion program.

Similarly to the Canadian French immersion research, some studies of Spanish reading comprehension and writing in United States immersion contexts have found that native Spanish-speaking controls performed significantly better than non-native speakers, especially in the earlier grades (Campbell 1984; Cazabon, Nicoladis, & Lambert 1998; Barfield & Rhodes 1993). Campbell wrote that even after seven years, immersion students still "...do not sound like native speakers of Spanish... they make grammatical and pronunciation errors, and they misuse or are ignorant of vocabulary that would be common knowledge to native speakers of their own age groups" (1984:131), although he emphasized that the grammaticality of most students' output far exceeded its ungrammaticality. He suggested that although students are given ample opportunity to acquire Spanish in immersion classrooms, the extremely low levels of grammaticality exhibited by some students may be related to Krashen's affective filter hypothesis (1981), which posits that there is a filter comprised of affective factors such as attitudes to language, motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety, that determines a learner's the rate and ultimate attainment in the second language.

Some United States immersion programs now examine students' oral Spanish language proficiency more formally, using measures such as the Student Oral Language Observation Matrix (SOLOM), the Student Oral Proficiency Rating (SOPR), the Language Assessment Scales-Oral (LAS-O) or the Center for Applied Linguistics' *CAL Oral Proficiency Exam* (or COPE) in Spanish.

2.1.3 Dual language immersion

Dual immersion programs (also called "two-way bilingual immersion") combine aspects of bilingual education and immersion programs because they integrate language minority and language majority students in one classroom and provide instruction in both languages. Instruction in the non-English language can range from 50% to 90% of the school day, giving rise to the common program descriptor terms "50-50" and "90-10". Christian (1996b:80) reported that three fourths of all dual immersion programs followed either the 50-50 or the 90-10 model, and that most 90-10 models were found in the western United States (especially California) and the 50-50 programs were found in the eastern, midwestern, and southern parts of the country.

Dual immersion classrooms ideally contain a mixture of 50% English-speaking and 50% native-speaking children of the non-English language. In other words, at all times, half the class is immersed in its L2 and the other half is receiving instruction in its L1[17]. The presence of approximately equal numbers of speakers of both languages theoretically provides opportunities for all students to communicate with native-speaker peers (Christian 1996b). In essence, a 90-10 dual immersion program is similar to a "regular" immersion program in terms of quantity of non-English use, but half of the student population is native-speaking.

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[17] However, it is not uncommon for Spanish-speaking students to arrive at school with some knowledge of English.

Christian (1996b:74) cites the Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County, Florida, as the first two-way bilingual school in the United States. The program was set up in 1963 by members of the Cuban community fleeing the Castro regime. During the 1960s, another 14 such schools were set up in Dade County. The James F. Oyster Bilingual Elementary School in Washington, D.C. is another famous program, established in 1971 through an initiative by local parents and politicians to produce a school that crossed language, cultural, ethnic and social class lines (Freeman 1998). Broner (2000) cites San Diego as having established the first dual immersion in the country in 1975, but this was actually preceded by the schools in Dade County cited by Christian (1996a) and is also tied with the Inter-American Magnet School in Chicago (where my study was done) whose first dual immersion classrooms were established in 1975.

As of September 2001, there were 260[18] such programs operating in elementary schools in the United States in ten different languages, with 244 operating in Spanish. Other programs operate in Korean, Cantonese, Navajo, French, Arabic, Japanese, Russian and Portuguese (Center for Applied Linguistics 2001). In March 2000, United States Secretary of Education Richard Riley lauded the achievements of dual immersion programs, calling them "the great wave of the future" and challenging the nation to increase the number of dual immersion schools to at least 1,000 over the next five years (United States Department of Education 2000).

The theoretical rationale behind dual immersion programs combines those of bilingual education programs and foreign language programs outlined earlier. Spanish and English native speakers study together in both languages, so there is considerable L2 input for each group (Krashen 1981) as well as opportunities to negotiate meaning in order to make input comprehensible (Long 1981) and to produce L2 output (Swain 1985). The presence of native speakers of each language is said to constitute an improvement over traditional bilingual programs and over immersion programs. They are thought to be superior to regular bilingual education programs both because L1 development is encouraged and because English learners are not isolated from native English-speaking peers. Their advantage over regular immersion is that the students have native Spanish-speaking peers, whereas in regular immersion their only native-speaker model is the teacher (Genesee 1987:131). Dual immersion is therefore a form of maintenance bilingual education for language minority students because it includes Spanish maintenance even after English proficiency has been developed. It is also the only bilingual education model that targets native English speakers. This challenges the dominant pattern of language education in the country that focuses on rapid transition to English and ignores the Spanish development of native and non-native speakers.

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[18] This indicates that as of 2001, there were slightly more dual immersion (260) than regular immersion programs (242) in the United States.

According to Christian (1996b:67-68), the three goals for dual immersion students are: (1) to develop high levels of proficiency in the L1 and in the L2; (2) to achieve academic performance at or above grade level; and (3) to demonstrate positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors and high levels of self-esteem. The methods through which these goals are realized depend largely on local conditions, demographics, and community attitudes. Each program makes a selection from a variety of characteristics. For example, a program may allocate the two languages by content, such as teaching social studies and math in Spanish, and science, arts and music in English. The two languages may be allocated by person, with each teacher using only one language. There are also dual immersion programs that separate languages by day, such as Monday is English and Tuesday is Spanish, with students being exposed to all content lessons in both languages.

Several studies indicate that dual immersion students' academic achievement reaches levels higher than local norms. Thomas & Collier (1997) found that dual immersion resulted in the highest academic achievement for language minority children over all other bilingual program types. On writing measures, Lindholm & Aclan (1991) found that two groups of first- through fourth- graders in two dual immersion programs, half Spanish-speaking and half English-speaking, exhibited the following trends: (1)

by third grade, both groups were scoring average to very high in Spanish reading and math achievement [interestingly, the English L1 students outperformed the Spanish L1 students when tested in both Spanish and English]; (2) by fourth grade, native English speakers showed average performance on English math tests, although they had not yet had math instruction in English; (3) the English reading performance of native English speakers approached average by second and third grade, while native Spanish speakers approached average by fourth grade.

In their volume *Profiles in Two-Way Immersion Education*, Christian et al. (1997) described three elementary schools with Spanish-English dual immersion programs. The schools were located in the geographically diverse regions of Arlington, VA; San Jose, CA and Chicago, IL[19]. Researchers made between two and six site visits to each school that included multiple classroom visits, interviews with teachers and principals, and gathering student performance data on language and academic achievement tests and writing samples.

The authors found that Spanish L1 students scored "fluent" on oral Language Assessment Scales (LAS-O) in English by third or fourth grade. At the California school, 95% of the English L1 students' oral Spanish was "fluent" by fourth grade (as measured by the SOLOM/SOPR); only 65% of their counterparts in Virginia had reached that mark by fourth grade. English L1 students were "able to express themselves with ease in Spanish", although their syntax and vocabulary were more limited than those of the Spanish L1 students. Therefore, Spanish speakers tended to reach the highest scores in oral English before English speakers reached the same level in Spanish. This supports the rationale for Heritage language education: minority language speakers tend to acquire majority languages quickly in school. It is worth mentioning that in first grade, only 88% of Spanish L1 first graders had tested as "fluent" in Spanish (which calls into question the researchers' definition of "fluent" and/or the validity of the test) but the number rose to 100% in fifth grade, suggesting that the program contributed to the Spanish development of Spanish-speaking children.

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[19] The Chicago site was the Inter-American Magnet School, the same school in my study. The authors' descriptions of the school appear in Chapter 3, where I present a description of the research environment.

Dual immersion has been praised for the high levels of linguistic and cultural fluency acquired by students. However, Valdés (1997) offered several points of caution, particularly concerning the education of language minority students, who have traditionally experienced high dropout rates, grade retention, and low test scores. She rightfully reminds us that "simply introducing native-language programs will not automatically solve all [their] educational problems" which are rooted in societal, institutional, interpersonal and interpsychic realities. She suggested that societal-level power imbalances filter into these schools in several ways. On a linguistic level, she suspected that teachers may modify their Spanish somewhat in order that the non-native children can understand it, and wondered if such conditions would limit Hispanophone children's acquisition of native-like Spanish competence. She conceded that there may not be such modifications, and if there were, they may be so slight as to have no effect on L1 Spanish development.

Valdés (1997) also called attention to the fact that research reports on dual immersion often concentrate on how well mainstream children speak Spanish while ignoring the English acquisition of Spanish-speaking children, which reflects mainstream assumptions that Hispanophone children are expected to learn English[20]. She warned that the main beneficiaries of the language resources offered in dual immersion may in fact be the members of the English-speaking majority, who after learning Spanish in dual immersion would be equipped to take bilingual jobs traditionally held by bilingual language minorities. But according to Valdés (1997) this concern is probably unjustified. In spite of the disturbing finding that English L1 children score higher on standardized tests of Spanish math and reading than native Spanish speakers (Lindholm & Aclan 1991), she cited other research (Edelsky & Hudelson 1982) suggesting that Anglophone children in dual immersion contexts do not really acquire lasting competence in Spanish and therefore do not threaten the economic advantages of bilingualism traditionally held by Spanish L1 speakers.

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[20] Delgado-Larocco (1998) did find these attitudes among dual immersion teachers.

By way of a conclusion, Valdés (1997) wrote that conversations about dual immersion programs must not ignore the deep racial and linguistic divisions in the communities surrounding the schools, particularly since "we know little about what impact mainstream children's original attitudes have on minority children with whom they interact" and "we are experimenting in potentially dangerous ways with children's lives" (1997:417). Far from arguing for the discontinuation of dual immersion, she suggested that these programs deserve further cautious study.

Several points should be considered when analyzing Valdés' (1997) arguments. Dual immersion may not be any more harmful to language minority children than traditional transitional bilingual programs, particularly since they have been shown to result in higher test scores than any other option available to LEP students (Thomas & Collier 1997). Additionally, the dual immersion school in Edelsky & Hudelson (1982) was not representative of all dual immersion contexts. As those authors stated, the school's goals "did not include explicit attention to mutual second-language learning on the part of both Anglos and Chicanos" (1982:203) and there were "no expectations that the marked language [Spanish] would be used by unmarked language speakers" (1982:225). The study involved three Anglo first graders in a regular bilingual classroom. Their young age meant that they most likely had a maximum of two years' exposure to Spanish (in preschool and kindergarten). It is unfair to assume that their Spanish production during that year was indicative of what they could learn in subsequent years or what they would learn in a program that expected and supported their Spanish language development. Finally, Valdés (1997) did not acknowledge ways in which dual immersion can contribute to Hispanic students' Spanish maintenance, an area which merits further study.

As this review has indicated, many studies in dual immersion contexts have used language tests, which reflect an orientation toward the *products* or results of immersion instruction. This has been necessary to maintain parental and administrative support. Other researchers have begun to analyze classroom *processes*, such as actual classroom language use and the sociolinguistic characteristics of immersion classrooms, including when and with whom students use their L1 and L2, which will now be reviewed.

2.2 Studies of classroom language use and interaction in immersion settings

According to Genesee, there has been "little systematic documentation of how language is used in immersion classrooms by either students or teachers," leaving us with "an insufficient empirical basis on which to draw firm conclusions about the discourse characteristics of immersion classrooms and, therefore, about the impact of classroom interaction styles on language learning" (1991:190). This remains the case in 2001, with less than half a dozen published studies documenting immersion classroom language use. Such studies are necessary because combining students from different language backgrounds does not insure that they will interact (Genesee 1985:554), nor that they will do so in Spanish when it is the "official" language of the instructional period. Tarone and Swain found the lack of in-depth observation of language use and interaction in immersion classrooms striking, given the "ample evidence that social context can cause the speech of second-language learners to vary substantially in its grammatical and phonological structure" (1995:176).

Despite the lack of research on language use in immersion classrooms, the role of interaction has been central to SLA studies in other contexts since the early 1980s (Gass, Mackey & Pica 1998:299). Hatch (1978) had suggested that conversation was not simply a forum for learners to practice L2 structures, but rather that syntactic and pragmatic knowledge developed out of conversation. Long (1981) emphasized the importance of interaction by proposing that not just input but comprehensible input was a prerequisite to L2 acquisition, and that input is made comprehensible during interaction when meaning is negotiated and input is simplified. Swain (1985) added that a further requirement for language acquisition is comprehensible *output*. She argued that immersion students often lack opportunities to produce, practice, and negotiate meaning in the target language, as well as social or cognitive pressure to refine their messages once their interlocutors have understood their general meaning[21]. In the same vein, Wong Fillmore & Valadez (1986) proposed that there are two activities involved in language learning: making hypotheses about connections between language forms and their referent meanings, and then testing out these hypotheses through interacting with others.

This interactionist perspective gave rise to studies focusing on "how interaction can be influenced by gender, ethnicity, the social relationships of learners and their interlocutors, and by the nature of the topics and tasks in which they engage" (Gass, Mackey & Pica 1998:299). Classroom interactional analysis proposed that learners who initiate and sustain social contact with their peers despite limited language abilities would generate more input and test more hypotheses, which would produce stronger growth in their interlanguage systems and proficiency. While some studies have reported a positive correlation between learner participation and proficiency (Naiman et al 1978; Wong Fillmore 1979; Strong 1983), student talkativeness and outgoingness have not always correlated with higher L2 proficiency (Saville-Troike, McClure and Fritz 1984; Day 1984; Ely 1986). A related question is whether student participation in L2 lessons is a *cause* or an *effect* of proficiency, if there is any relationship at all.

Most FL interaction studies have been empirical in nature, involving subjects who were selected form predetermined categories of speakers and asked to perform structured tasks. According to Nunan (1992:102), language acquisition research that collects naturalistic data within genuine classrooms is relatively rare, even though identifying classroom factors and their significance for language learning is crucial for understanding classroom language acquisition. My study fills this gap in dual immersion research.

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[21] Whether this is also true for dual immersion students has not yet been examined.

Studies in immersion classrooms that use natural language use as their data source include Cohen & Lebach's (1974) early study of the Culver City Spanish immersion program in California, which reported that second graders used English about half of the time in the classroom. Swain & Carroll (1987) counted student turns in third and sixth grade French immersion classes and found that during the French portion of the day, student turns were less than two thirds as frequent as during the English portion of the day. The most frequent source of student talk was during teacher-initiated turns, where the students' responses were "linguistically controlled," but extended talk of a clause or longer was more likely to occur when students initiated interactions. Overall, less than 15% of student turns in French were more than a clause in length.

Swain & Carroll (1987) suggested that greater opportunities for sustained talk could be accomplished through more groupwork, more opportunities for student-initiated talk, and the use of more open-ended questions by teachers. However, they found that during groupwork students tended to revert to their shared L1. They concluded that simply providing opportunities to speak French was not sufficient – "students need to be *motivated* to use language accurately, appropriately, and coherently" (Swain & Carroll 1987:77, emphasis added). Their study illuminated important characteristics of immersion classrooms, but no quantification of language use was done, nor did the authors expand on the concept of students' motivation.

Other authors who have used natural data in classrooms include Lyster (1998), who examined error analysis in the form of teacher recasts; Tardiff (1994), who looked at the role of teacher talk; and Swain & Lapkin (1998), who focused on negotiations between immersion students during classroom lessons. However, these studies did not systematically document immersion students' natural classroom language.

In dual immersion settings, most research on students' language use has been limited to informal observations of which languages were used during instructional time. Christian et al. (1997) indicated that "in general," dual immersion students were observed using Spanish during Spanish lessons while talking to the teacher and while engaged in academic activities, particularly younger children. In the lower grades, students were "sometimes" observed addressing the teacher in English during Spanish time, but that this was less common in the upper grades. The use of Spanish during English time was very rare, occurring most frequently among Spanish-dominant children. In contrast, English was often used during Spanish time for social interactions among peers of both language backgrounds, especially when the teacher was not within earshot:

> ... English was used frequently in all grades whenever the teacher was not present or was not the direct addressee. English was the predominant language among students in classrooms where they did not fear being punished for using English during Spanish time (Christian et al. 1997:30).

They noted a marked student preference to use English as much as possible, particularly among older students, and noted that "The Spanish-speaking students had acquired English and even preferred to use English in interactions with other English and Spanish speakers (Christian et al. 1997:69). Additionally,

> In the lower grades, students code-switched when they did not have the appropriate vocabulary or grammar in their second language. In the upper grades, however, the use of English during Spanish time did not reflect students' inability to express themselves fully in Spanish; using English was clearly a deliberate choice (Christian et al.1997:58)

Despite their preference for English, the students were "able to comprehend spoken and written Spanish and English and were able to produce meaningful, fluent speech in both languages" (1997:60).

One of the schools profiled in Christian, Montone, Lindholm & Carranza (1997) was the Inter-American Magnet School (IAMS). The authors noted:

> As at the other two sites, English was clearly the preferred language for social purposes for those students who had achieved a certain level of fluency in it. At IAMS there appeared to be an even greater use of English by students when speaking among themselves than at the other two sites (Christian et al.1997:85-86).

At IAMS, students used more English and the teachers tended to tolerate more English during Spanish time in the classroom than teachers in the other two programs observed. Some became less tolerant when the students directed their utterance to the teachers in English rather than Spanish. The authors suggested that this might have been because teachers themselves "were not as exclusive in their use of that language during the instructional period as were teachers at the other two schools profiled" (1997:83). The authors also noted that the level of English proficiency was rather high among the native Spanish speakers at the Inter-American. About 45% of the Hispanic students entered the program bilingual, while "some" knew only English or only Spanish. And although 71% of the students were Hispanic, only 35% were LEP (compared to 40% and 54% at the other two sites). It may be that students at IAMS used more English than students at the other two sites because they knew more.

Other factors may have also influenced the greater English use at the Inter-American. Christian et al. (1997) noted that IAMS had a larger percentage of African-American students (13% compared to 5% and 2% at the other two sites). The experiences of African-American students in immersion classrooms were considered by The Cincinnati Immersion Project, which contains some of the nation's most extensive immersion programs, "since many of them speak a nonstandard dialect" and are thus "functioning in a second language during half the school day and a second dialect during the other half" (Holobow et al.1987). In other words, faced with the double task of acquiring standard English as well as the immersion language, African-American immersion students may experience larger cognitive loads and differential academic and linguistic achievement. The 1987 study examined only the English test scores of pilot kindergarten students and found that African American students scored just as well as their white counterparts in mastering English literacy, but since no examination of students' L2 use or proficiency was done, the question of their L2 use remains unanswered. During my observations at IAMS, I learned that 90% of the students receiving pullout Spanish as a Second Language services were African American, lending support to the idea that African-American students may experience greater challenges in learning the L2 in immersion contexts.

In their conclusions, Christian et al. (1997) wrote that at the Inter-American:

> Getting the Spanish proficiency of both language groups to meet [their] English proficiency levels has been a challenge. While some English-dominant students excelled in Spanish, many did not see the need to learn Spanish (at least in the earlier grades) and were *not motivated to learn it*. The Spanish-dominant students, too, were so drawn by the dominance of English in society that they were *not motivated* to improve their Spanish language skills beyond oral proficiency. (Christian et al.1997:86, emphasis added).

Motivation was also mentioned by immersion researchers Swain & Carroll (1987), but to date no one has formally studied this construct in an immersion context. Also missing from Christian et al. (1997) is a quantification of students' classroom language use in the dual immersion contexts they studied.

Five studies conducted in immersion classrooms carried out more systematic observations and recordings of students' language use: Heitzman (1994), Parker et al. (1995), Blanco Iglesias et al. (1995) and Broner (2000) in regular immersion settings, and Delgado-Larocco (1998) in a dual immersion classroom.

Heitzman (1994) and Parker et al. (1995) used the same procedures and data corpus. Both studies analyzed the L1 and L2 use of Spanish immersion students in St. Paul, Minnesota, as they processed math problems (Heitzman 1994) and when they interacted with each other and with the teacher (Parker et al 1995). Data were collected from eight focal students, three from fifth grade and five from sixth grade, representing high, medium, and low levels of both Spanish language proficiency and academic achievement based on teacher ratings and standardized test scores. Researchers visited the classrooms twice a week over a four-month period and gathered data three ways: (1) verbal report protocols such as think-alouds, during which students were asked to work their math problems out loud; (2) questionnaire-type interviews; and (3) fieldnotes taken during non-participant classroom observation[22] and tape recordings of conversational exchanges between students.

Parker et al. (1995:239) divided classroom activity into two main participant structures, *teacher fronted* and *non-teacher fronted*. Teacher fronted meant that the classroom activity was lecture-style. Teachers explained the lesson and asked questions of the students. Learners talked to the teacher but not among themselves (although they sometimes whispered to each other) and generally stayed in their seats. In non-teacher fronted situations, learners worked alone or in small groups, talking freely with each other and walking around the classroom as needed. The study also distinguished *task-oriented* from *social and task-oriented* speech. Although no definitions were provided, it seems that the former category was limited to school-related activity while the latter included off task comments.

Parker et al. (1995) analyzed 51 instances of language use and found that during teacher-fronted lessons, students used Spanish 70% of the time when it was *social and task-oriented,* and increased to 88% of the time when *task-oriented* only. During small group activities, students used Spanish only 22% of the time when it was social and task-oriented[23] and only 27% of the time when it was task-oriented only. This indicates a clear preference for Spanish during teacher-fronted activities and for English during groupwork. In groups, students only used Spanish to perform a limited number of task-related purposes: reading text, rereading or reinstating information drawn from target-language materials, and producing answer-oriented output (Parker et al.1995:245). They used English, however, for a wider range of speech acts, including performing calculations, managing group interaction, explaining things to each other, and expressing difficulties with a task. In addition to using more English in class, students used English during lunch, recess, and with their friends in general. Heitzman (1994) found that when students read instructions aloud in Spanish there was a tendency to stay in Spanish, but in general students did not use much Spanish when performing math operations.

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[22] Fieldnotes are notes that researchers write during or after observations; the use of fieldnotes and participant observation will be described more fully in Section 2.4.

[23] Although this category is called "social and task-oriented", the authors later claim that no Spanish use was reported for social purposes (Parker et al. 1995:243), making these results confusing.

Parker et al. (1995) asked students why they used more English in school. Students reported that they did not have enough Spanish vocabulary (particularly for discussing topics that were not school related), that speaking Spanish was difficult, and that they worried about making mistakes in Spanish. Noting that the students had not acquired the necessary pragmatic abilities to work out math problems in the L2, the researchers speculated that (1) students had never observed native speakers modeling math problem solving discourse, and (2) students may "lack the *motivation*...to produced externalized discourse of this nature" (Parker et al. 1995:251, emphasis added), but they did not explore this concept motivation. It may also be true that by the time immersion students reach fifth grade, they are frustrated that their cognitive development is at a higher level than their L2 proficiency (Met & Lorenz 1997:258).

A significant methodological problem with Heitzman (1994) and Parker et al. (1995) and acknowledged by Heitzman (1994:41) was that researchers used English when asking students to verbalize aloud what they were doing. This might have affected students' language use; if the students thought the researchers did not understand Spanish or preferred English, they may have refrained from using Spanish as they calculated the math problems aloud. Therefore, any claims about students' routine language use are tenuous at best. Additionally, both studies were restricted to math problems; language-related tasks may present different patterns. The portion of Parker et al. (1995) that did report on naturalistic classroom language use was based on only 51 instances, and there is no indication of how systematic the recordings were. Finally, their category "social and task-oriented" did not separate social from task-oriented activities in their analysis.

Blanco-Iglesias et al. (1995) explored whether immersion students used English or Spanish when conversing with their teacher, when responding to the teacher in teacher-fronted discussions, and when conversing with their peers during deskwork. Two researchers recorded fieldnotes during participant-observations in Spanish immersion classrooms from second through fifth grade. For six weeks, fourteen different classes were observed for ten to fifty minutes each time, for a total of 10 hours and 15 minutes. From kindergarten through third grade, students almost exclusively used Spanish when talking with the teacher. Their patterns of Spanish use with each other varied from class to class; they did use some English, but they also often used Spanish when "on task, discussing academic topics" (1995:246)[24].

In fourth and fifth grades, patterns of language use changed. Students began using more English when addressing the teacher and each other, especially during groupwork when the teacher was not monitoring them. When they did use Spanish with each other, it seemed only for academic topics, never to socialize with each other. The authors suggested that the children's increased use of English was due to the development of a pre-adolescent speech style, which allowed peers to mark themselves as in-group members (a conclusion explored further in Tarone & Swain 1995). Much of the English used by the students included vernacular slang like "You messed up," "You jerk!" and "That's cool".

However, Blanco Iglesias et al. (1995) contains several methodological shortcomings, all acknowledged by the authors. The primary problem is that data was collected only through fieldnotes without tape recordings, which limits the level of detail of the data and hence its reliability, particularly since the authors admitted that at times they could not hear what students said to each other. Additionally, the notetakers were both L1 Spanish speakers looking for Spanish use and therefore "often did not transcribe exactly the English utterances...and so were often reduced to noting that the children spoke to each other in English" (1995:243). A further limitation is the amount of observation conducted: an hour and a half at each grade level was reasonable for this preliminary study of general language use trends across grades, but does not allow for in-depth analysis of any individual classroom or students.

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[24] The report implies but does not state specifically that students in kindergarten through third grade used Spanish to socialize with each other.

In their review of research on language use in immersion classrooms, including Blanco Iglesias et al. (1995), Heitzman (1993) and Parker et al. (1995), Tarone & Swain (1995) sought to answer a question that had not yet been posed in immersion research: *Why* do immersion students increasingly avoid using their L2 in peer interactions as they move into higher grade levels? They examined research from "regular" immersion classrooms in which all students were L1 English speakers learning French as an L2, but their observations are relevant to any immersion L2 and perhaps to dual immersion as well. They proposed that if one takes a sociolinguistic perspective on immersion classrooms, viewing them as speech communities, they can be considered to obey the constraints already established by sociolinguists for other speech communities.

Specifically, a variety of speech styles and registers are available to most speakers and are used for different purposes, appropriate to different social contexts and role relationships. The authors argued that in immersion classrooms, children learn the second language for purely academic purposes. Since they do not receive input in nonacademic language styles that serve children's essential discourse needs for play, competition, positioning in the peer group, arguing, and insulting, they use the L1 instead. These discourse needs, according to Tarone & Swain, are essential to children's interactions with one another because through these functions, speakers locate themselves in a complex social hierarchy by forming alliances and asserting superiority (1995:169).

These functions take place in students' L1, the vernacular of the classroom, because "The need to perform the social functions is far greater to the children's *social identity* than the need to stay in the L2... when they have and share the L1 style they need" (1995:169, emphasis added). According to the authors, since preadolescents and adolescents signal their identities and identification with each other through dress, hairstyles, music preferences, and vernacular language, the increased use of the L1 beginning in 5th and 6th grade immersion classrooms becomes more understandable. Indeed, use of a superordinate speech style (the non-English language) in peer interactions may mark the speaker as a nonmember or "lame" (Tarone & Swain 1995:169, based on Labov 1972).

Tarone & Swain (1995:167) proposed that through interviews, immersion students themselves can offer important insights into their own L1 and L2 use. One graduate of an immersion program was asked about her "reluctance to use French with her peers" in the program. She responded that as an adolescent, she was developing a language style with her peers for which the immersion program was not providing input. A ten-year-old boy in a United States Spanish immersion program similarly said that he only learned Spanish words "that we'd use with the principal, not [slang phrases like] 'This is fresh'" (1995:172).

In seeking to support their conclusions, Tarone & Swain (1995) cited relevant research that compared the teacher and peer interactions of "Bob," an ESL boy, during kindergarten and first grade (Liu 1994). Liu found that Bob let the teacher take the conversational initiative and that his language with her filled a rather small range of functions using simple sentence structure. His peer interactions, however, covered a much wider range of functions including criticisms, commands, arguments, and insults, which served the "overriding" purpose of locating the children in a social hierarchy. Tarone & Swain wrote that "Unlike children in an immersion program, Bob did have the opportunity to learn peer-peer vernacular in his L2 [English] because he was surrounded by native speakers" and suggested that "If immersion students could say in their L2 the sorts of things Bob and his friends say in this conversation, we believe they would" (1995:171-2). Exploring whether the presence of Spanish L1 peers in a dual immersion classroom results in the use of Spanish vernacular was one of the interests of my study.

Tarone & Swain (1995) concluded that immersion classrooms can be seen as becoming increasingly diglossic over time, with the immersion language (Spanish, French, etc.) serving academic/official functions and the native language (English) serving social functions, and that educators may need to accept this rather than struggle to get students to use the L2 more often. They made similar conclusions about dual immersion programs based on anecdotal evidence that students used English vernacular despite having native Spanish-speaking peers in the classroom[25]. They added, "we need systematic direct research on L2 language use between native speaker and L2 peers in two-way immersion classrooms" (Tarone & Swain 1995:168), which is what my study addresses.

Following up on the questions put forth in Tarone & Swain (1995), Broner's (2000) doctoral dissertation examined language use in a fifth grade immersion classroom in Minneapolis, Minnesota. All students were L1 English immersed in Spanish. She sought to answer three research questions: (1) What languages were used by students in peer-peer and peer-teacher interactions, and did the interlocutor appear to affect students' language use? (2) Did the nature of the task have a systematic effect on the choice between Spanish and English? and (3) Was there any pre-adolescent language use (slang and references to teen culture) and of metalinguistic themes, and in what language?

Following Pica, Kanagy & Falodum (1993), the author defined *task* as a goal-oriented activity that participants had to carry out. The concept of task included both the *goal* of the activity (which included *directions, desk work, whole class*[26], *follow up*, and *review*) and the *content* of the activity (math, science, creative writing, social studies, arts and crafts[27]). Students' turns could be *on-task* or *off-task*: if children were "carrying out the task, even if they joked about it," the turn was considered on-task; if they were "carrying out a task and they made an aside (e.g. referred to a movie, a commercial, or a song, etc.)" the turn was considered off-task (Broner 2000:97). Also included in the on-task category were all comments associated with carrying out the assigned task, such as when students talked about the markers they needed to decorate a poem (Broner 2000:151)

Broner (2000) chose three focal students[28]. To balance for gender, one boy and one girl were selected with the teacher's help based on their high grades and active classroom participation. The third

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[25] It is not clear whether Spanish L1 children raised in the United States develop or use Spanish slang, either.
[26] *Desk work* and *whole class work* might be more accurately called *participant structures* (cf. Parker et al. 1995).
[27] Which in my study is called *class* and includes language arts and social studies.
[28] The author originally wanted only one focal student, but chose three in case any student withdrew from the study (2000:76).

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participant, Marvin, was added because he seemed to use more Spanish than the rest of the students, speaking it even outside of the classroom. Broner (2000) requested that the three focal students be seated together throughout the five months of data collection and, using lapel microphones and a wireless transmission system, audio taped nine hours and ten minutes of class time that included reading, creative writing, arts and crafts, social studies, math, and science. She also observed and took fieldnotes. She conducted several informal interviews with the teacher and one formal interview with each of the three students, in Spanish, about their favorite teachers, their overall experience at the school, their plans for the future, and their self-reports on Spanish and English use. She also used a school-wide survey on demographic information and self-reports on classroom language use.

Broner (2000) analyzed the data by transcribing the three students' classroom talk and searching for patterns related to the variables established in the three research questions. She used a Chi square test for independence and a Binomial Variable Rule Analysis (VABRUL) with the units *turn, utterance, complexity of utterance, interlocutor, style*, and *task*. The main unit of analysis was the turn. Following Levinson (1983) and Ellis (1994), a turn was defined as when an interlocutor stops talking and thus enables another interlocutor to initiate a turn, or when the interlocutor is interrupted by another who initiates a turn (Levinson 1983; Ellis 1994). Turns were further divided into utterances, defined as stretches of language bounded by pauses, under one single intonation contour, and generally consisting of a single semantic unit (Chaudron 1988:45).

Of the total 4,843 utterances in her data, Broner (2000) found that 63% were in Spanish and 35% were in English (the 2% of mixed language utterances were omitted from the analysis). She found that when the interlocutor included an adult (either the adult only or the entire class), the three children used Spanish between 95% and 100% of the time, which conformed to the "expected public linguistic behavior" of the classroom. Broner (2000:106) points out that only 14% of the total corpus was directed to an adult. When the interlocutor was a peer, Spanish use dropped to 58%. However, there was greater variation among the three students' peer talk than their talk with adult interlocutors. Leonard and Carolina were similar to each other at 48% and 55% respectively, but Marvin used Spanish 88% of the time with peers. As noted earlier, Marvin differed from his peers in his frequent use of Spanish and he himself noted that "other children do not like him and do not like him speaking in Spanish" (Broner 2000:123), supporting the author's observations that Marvin was an outcast similar to what Labov (1972) called a "lame." No other explanations were offered for the children's observed language use.

Marvin not only used more Spanish himself, he also seemed to trigger greater Spanish use from both Carolina and Leonard, who used more Spanish with Marvin (63% and 74% respectively) than they did with other peers (55% and 48% respectively). Leonard used considerably more Spanish with Marvin than with other peers. Marvin used less Spanish with Carolina (74%) than with other peers (88%), perhaps because he perceived that she had lower Spanish proficiency or did not like speaking Spanish. However, Marvin used even more Spanish with Leonard (97%) than he did with other peers (88%), which the author suggested might have been intended to annoy Leonard (Broner 2000:173). Therefore, "all three children [were] having an effect on each others' L2 use" (Broner 2000:115).

Follow-up interviews provided perspective on students' language use. When asked why he used English, Marvin replied, "Because my friends don't like me, they want me to speak English" [translation mine]. Leonard said that in recess and lunch he used English because it was easier, and that he "didn't know" why he and his classmates sometimes used English in class. There was no excerpt from Carolina's interview.

Regarding participant structure[29], Broner (2000) found a total of 71% student Spanish use during teacher fronted classes. Yet it was mentioned earlier that when the interlocutor was the teacher, they used

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[29] Broner's (2000) categories "directions," "main activity (whole class)" and "follow-up (whole class)" correspond to what Parker et al. (1995) calls "teacher fronted". This is evident in Broner's own words that "In teacher-fronted activities, which includes directions, follow-up, review, and whole class activities..." "...are activities in which the teacher is addressing the whole class and the children are paying attention and responding to the teacher's questions" (2000:128-129). Furthermore, Broner's categories

Spanish 98% of the time. Broner (2000) therefore presents the need to differentiate *interlocutor* from *participant structure*[30]. Groupwork lessons saw 55% of the students' total corpus of utterances, far more than the second most frequent category, transitions, which contained around 16% of the utterances. This supports Swain and Carroll's (1987) call for greater use of groupwork to get immersion students to speak more often. However, this greater quantity of talk was not always in Spanish. Leonard's Spanish use was 59%, Carolina's 64% and Marvin's 91%; the three students combined used Spanish 65% of the time. Note that this report of 65% Spanish during groupwork differs from "utterances to peers", which was reported earlier as 58%, again highlighting the need to differentiate interlocutor from participant structure.

Therefore, Broner's (2000) 71% Spanish use during teacher fronted lessons is very similar to Parker et al's. 70% Spanish use when *teacher fronted social and task-oriented* and 88% when *teacher fronted task-oriented* only. But during groupwork, Broner's 65% Spanish use is much more than Parker et al.'s 22% (when social and task-oriented) and 27% (when task-oriented only). Broner (2000) attributed the use of frequent, naturalistic tape recordings to her being able to discover more Spanish use than had been found by Heitzman (1993) and Parker et al. (1995:13), whose recordings were elicited somewhat intrusively and only numbered 51 turns.

As for the content of the task, Broner (2000) found that significantly more Spanish was used when the task was creative writing, since students had to focus on the L2 in order to carry out the task (cf Allen et al. 1990:75). Broner suggested that this was because "...when studying this content, the children are more

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"main activity (desk work)" referred to "the children... working on their own, in pairs, or in groups" (2000:130) without the teacher leading the lesson, which is equivalent to what Parker et al. (1995) calls "groupwork". Therefore, I combined Broners' students' language use in these categories in order to compare them to Parker et al.'s (1995) data.

[30] As explained in chapters 2 and 3, the teacher fronted – groupwork distinction cannot capture whether the teacher was an intended interlocutor. For example, not all things said by students during teacher-fronted lessons are loud enough to be heard by the teacher. Students often say things quietly to each other during teacher fronted lessons, and those turns should not be treated as comments directed to the teacher. Also, a student may say something to the teacher during groupwork when she approaches their desks.

focused on using their second language because they need to use the L2 to actually carry out the task (e.g. to write a narrative in the L2)..." (2000:128).

Finally, Broner (2000) looked at whether student turns were on or off task. She found that when on task, all three students used Spanish 75% or more, but when off task, their Spanish use dropped to 34%. When off task, both Carolina and Leonard used Spanish only 31% of the time, while Marvin used Spanish 65% of the time when off task. That is, although Marvin used English only 35% when off task (considerably less off task English than the other two students), it was slightly more than his 27% English use when on task. Therefore, for all three students, being off task correlated with greater English use. The author contended that "...the hypothesis put forth by Tarone and Swain (1995) that upper grade immersion classrooms are diglossic seems to be supported only for Leonard and Carolina." That is, Leonard and Carolina seem to use Spanish only for academic content and prefer English for social comments. Marvin, however, preferred to use more Spanish whether on task or off task.

Broner's final research question examined the language used for vernacular words (words "not considered part of the standard academic style used in class", such as *cool, awesome*, and *oh my gosh*), for making references to preadolescent culture (which the author recognized are difficult to categorize) including television programs, movies, and music, and for metalinguistic themes (talking about the linguistic code). She found that all vernacular words and references to preadolescent themes took place in English. Slang terms comprised only 10% of the English L1 tokens, which was not as much as casual observations had led people to believe (Broner 2000:233), yet this finding supports Tarone & Swain's (1995) proposal that immersion classrooms exhibit characteristics of diglossia. My study examines whether students in a dual immersion classroom containing Spanish L1 students produce any vernacular expressions in Spanish.

In discussing the references to preadolescent themes, Broner (2000) compared the number of references made to L1 and L2 culture. She found twelve English categories (TV and radio programs, movies, holidays, comics/cartoons, children's games, objects such as Beanie Babies, music, TV commercials, pretend play with voice imitations, and imitations of stereotypical accents) but only four Spanish categories (places, school activities/games, holidays/songs and pretend play with voice imitations). Additionally, she found that "...although there were some cultural references made in the L2, none of these seemed to include a pre-adolescent theme." (Broner 2000:235). That is, of all the cultural references made in Spanish, none referred to Hispanic *themes*, "quite possibly because when students referred to non-school topics, they were speaking about issues that were relevant to their lives"; and "obviously, these children do not have access to activities, music, etc. outside of class in the L2" (Broner 2000:236). However, she didn't compare the functions of students' L1 and L2 output, such as insulting, teasing, and others mentioned by Tarone & Swain (1995). Finally, Broner found that students used more Spanish (64%) than English (23%) to talk about the Spanish language itself (2000:199).

Broner's (2000) study provides important insights into the language use of fifth grade immersion students, particularly since teachers were exposed to only 14% of the students' speech in the corpus. The study also analyzed the students' output individually, which allowed an understanding of how Marvin's presence impacted the Spanish use of Carolina and Leonard. This kind of data is often missed when reporting group data (Broner 2000:215).

Despite the useful results and the good model this study provides for future research, it does present several methodological and analytical limitations. For data collection, Broner (2000) manipulated classroom procedures by grouping the three students for the purpose of her study, which controlled but also limited who students' interlocutors were the majority of the time. Some data were reported on the three students' interaction with "other peers" but it is not clear how often, with whom, and during what activities. Additionally, while we know the number of Spanish and English utterances produced during teacher fronted versus groupwork lessons, of the 550 taped minutes in the corpus we do not know how many minutes were teacher fronted and groupwork. Nor was there an attempt to separate interlocutor from participant structure within each participant structure; it may be that peer turns during groupwork are more or less often in Spanish than peer turns during teacher fronted lessons. It may also be that turns directed to the teacher publicly (during teacher fronted lessons and loud enough for the whole class to hear) differed from those made to her privately (during groupwork when she approached their desks). Finally, the analysis did not analyze task by interlocutor. For example, we do not know how many peer turns were on task vs. off task, and in what languages. There may be interesting patterns.

Broner's (2000) category "on task" included turns that managed the materials necessary to carry out tasks. Although management tasks do promote the completion of academic work, they do not refer specifically to academic content and may therefore result in different language use. Finally, similar to studies of immersion classroom language use to date, Broner did not correlate gender with language use (2000:167). Gender should not be overlooked as a significant variable (cf. Willett 1995), and it is included in my study.

While Broner (2000) made very clear that her study focused on a quantitative analysis of students' language use, involving percentages, chi-square and VARBRUL analyses, her representation of case studies deserves mention. She described her research design as using a case study approach and an anthropological model (2000:70-71), but as will be seen in Section 2.3, such case studies typically have a more qualitative orientation, which include researcher disclosure, discussion of the sociopolitical context in which schools function, and relevant details about the lives of the students, parents, and teacher, which are lacking in this study. Broner's literature review also contended that:

> "...[I]n order to describe L2 and L1 use by fifth graders...it is important that we also take into account their developmental characteristics. If...children are developing their identity, a sense of the self, are becoming polarized into different peer-groups, are using slang, are more aware of how others see them...we should expect some of these issues have an impact on L2 use. Specifically, do they choose to use the L1 or the L2 in order to express any or all of these developing characteristics?" (Broner 2000:61-62).

Broner (2000) did offer several interpretations about how the students' friendships with each other and their social positions within the classroom affected their language use, but she did not return to the issue of child development or developing identities proposed in the literature review to further analyze what she learned about the three children's language use. The ways in which even very young language learners construct, negotiate, and present their identities have been shown to impact their language use in and out of classrooms (Norton 2000; McKay & Wong 1995; Willett 1995). We need more insight on how immersion students' concepts of self-identity affect their classroom language use, and qualitative case studies provide an ideal way to do so (Tarone & Swain 1995:170).

Two final limitations will be mentioned. Broner (2000) conducted interviews with the students in Spanish, their L2, which may have limited the extent to which they could truly express themselves and influenced them to make positive comments about using and learning Spanish. Parker et al. (1995) and Tarone & Swain's (1995) interviews were in English, the students' L1, and the transcripts provided in those studies seem to reflect more richly the opinions and feelings of the young participants. Secondly, Broner acknowledged that video recordings would have enhanced data analysis, particularly the categorization of utterances as on-task or off-task (2000:227). Video would also have allowed for the study of facial gestures and other qualitative indications of students' involvement with the task and with their interlocutors. However, Broner's (2000) is a very useful study, particularly since VARBRUL had never been previously used for an immersion classroom language analysis.

Delgado-Larocco's (1998) doctoral dissertation examined how classroom instructional practices affected students' level of language production and ultimate academic achievement in a 90-10 Spanish-English dual immersion kindergarten in California. Unlike past studies that addressed either classroom interactions, language use, or instructional practices, Delgado-Larocco sought to highlight the reciprocity among the three:

> Ramirez (1992) maintains that the teacher-centered nature of instructional practices leaves little room for student participation beyond the low critical thinking levels. If two-way immersion programs are to meet the social and academic needs of language minority and majority students equitably, opportunities for student interactions with each other and with the curriculum in authentic and challenging ways are essential. (Delgado-Larocco 1998:42).

Echoing Valdés (1997), Delgado-Larocco noted that an increase in the status of the minority language in two-way immersion classrooms "by itself may not override the effects of interacting sociopolitical factors and the existing power relationships outside the classroom" (1998:50). She cited findings that dual immersion classrooms, English native speakers (ENS) outperform their Spanish native speaker (SNS) classmates in mathematics and reading when tested in English *and* Spanish (Lindholm 1992; Lindholm & Aclan 1991) and sought to examine how students' roles in classroom contributed to such inequities in academic achievement. She argued that what is presented in a lesson, how it is presented, and the opportunities the teacher creates for meaning negotiation with and among students all influence their learning. Therefore, she sought to identify the language preferences of the students, how language development was promoted in the classroom, the linguistic demand of instructional events, and the relationship of instructional events to demonstrable skills at the end of the school year. This review will focus on language preferences and patterns of interaction, but mention will be made of the instructional and communication strategies she studied.

Although Delgado-Larocco (1998) did not state that her study was an ethnography, she emphasized that to understand the interaction patterns of classroom participants, the community's sociopolitical reality needs to be considered. The school was located in Las Lomas, a rural community in northern California that was 84% White, 13% Latino, 1.2% American Indian, 1% African American and .6% Southeast Asian. The 597 students in the school were 22% Latino, 6.4% Asian. The school had housed a Spanish immersion program for English L1 students, but a group of parents requested a two-way program for the linguistic and cultural benefits that Spanish-speaking children would bring. There were vast differences between ENS and SNS parents' income, educational background, and participation in the school, which "reinforced a subordinate role of language minority students" (Delgado-Larocco 1998:169).

The classroom was conducted 90% in Spanish, 10% in English, and twenty-seven students participated in the study. Delgado-Larocco (1998) used two oral language assessment instruments, the Pre-Language Assessment Scales (PRE-LAS) and the Student Oral Language Observation Matrix (SOLOM)[31] to gather pre- and post-test data on children's language proficiency. At the beginning of the year, only one ENS spoke any Spanish, and another did have some comprehension skills. There were more SNS who understood English than ENS who understood Spanish at the beginning of the year – all but one of the SNS were able to carry out the PRE-LAS "Simon Says" commands in English, although five SNS were not producing enough English to be rated on the SOLOM. In September, three SNS girls did not understand or use English. As the students became more proficient in their second language, patterns of interaction changed.

Over a one year period, Delgado-Larocco (1998) conducted 38 hour-long field observations and 29 video and audio recordings, 24 of which were teacher fronted academic events[32] and four were student-directed or social events (which were student selected activities with random group composition and non-explicit outcomes). She also conducted interviews with school personnel to triangulate data from field observations. Parents were interviewed only when information was missing from the questionnaires sent home. Students were informally interviewed throughout the year. During the first 6 months, she sat next to small groups or behind the whole class during teacher fronted lessons and noted patterns of students' language preferences in fieldnotes. In April, tape recorders were placed in the middle of the table, and she hand-held the video camera and followed students. There were no focal students. The videotapes were used to code language preferences: every five minutes, the speakers' language choice was tallied. There is no indication of how often each of the 27 students was recorded or tallied.

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[31] The PRE-LAS is a norm referenced test while the SOLOM is a teacher observation instrument.

[32] "Academic events were teacher fronted, had specific content objectives, new information was presented or reinforced, and the teachers assigned students the task(s) to be completed" (Delgado-Larocco 1998:225)

The teacher always used Spanish with and in front of the students, with only three observed exceptions during the year. There were also two English-speaking teachers and a Spanish-speaking paraprofessional. Sra. Juárez and Srta. Montez used only Spanish during both academic and social events, while Ms. Nolan and Ms. Fielding used both languages.

Delgado-Larocco (1998) found that the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) sequence[33] dominated lessons. Classroom discourse was therefore characterized by unequal power relationships between teacher and students. Since students' performance demonstrates what they have learned, the author suggested that instructional practices which better enhance student participation in classroom discourse may have a positive effect on their academic performance.

Although it seemed that the ENS responded more than SNS, a review of six randomly selected videotaped lessons from April did not present any consistent pattern (Delgado-Larocco 1998:209). The author found that the nature and language of interactions between teachers and students depended on the students' L1. As the year progressed, the ENS used one-word Spanish answers. By October, most of them participated in group chants such as "*Hoy es... Mañana será...*". During routine or choral answers, ENS responded in Spanish, but for longer answers in science and social studies they responded in English. The ENS participated more and initiated more and longer turns when they were separated for English arts. The teachers felt that the ENS were more relaxed and fidgeted less during English arts and that even students who rarely spoke during other lessons would participate.

The SNS were similar to ENS in that they limited themselves to one-word answers during IRE, but they always used Spanish with Sra. Juárez. They used English with Mrs. Nolan, even though they knew that she spoke both languages. They sometimes used English during academic events to translate for ENS, and like ENS, their participation increased when separated out for Spanish language arts. However, unlike ENS during English language arts, SNS rarely interjected comments while a book was being read during Spanish language arts.

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[33] In this sequence, teachers ask questions to which they already know the answers, one or more students responds, and the teacher evaluates their response. These exchanges provide fewer opportunities for students to nominate topics and take turns speaking, yet is the most common type of interaction found in traditional classrooms (Cazden 1988).

Two SNS boys were exceptions in that they often initiated exchanges during teacher fronted lessons. Rudy's timing and comments were usually inappropriate, so his attempts were received as interruptions and he was asked to wait his turn or raise his hand. Beto had visited an older sibling in Sra. Juárez' class in the past and felt comfortable there. He volunteered to model activities for classmates and his attempts were appropriately timed. Sra. Juárez further encouraged Beto's attempts by asking him to translate into English for the ENS. The teachers noted that a boy with low English proficiency like Beto would not have been able emerge as a leader in transitional bilingual classrooms until he learned English, but that he was able to do so in this dual immersion setting. That is, Beto's Spanish ability enabled him to construct an identity as a successful student (cf Willett 1995; McKay & Wong 1995). Although there was not the same level of individual student detail as in Broner (2000), mention of these two boys provides interesting insights into how students function in and respond to language immersion environments.

During non-teacher fronted events, students interacted among themselves, although they would occasionally approach a teacher to show her their work. At the beginning of the year, the ENS interacted more with the English-speaking teacher, to the point that Sra. Juárez worried that she would not be able to establish a strong relationship with them. She let students know that she understood English, and by late November the students interacted equally with both teachers (but used English almost exclusively). Similarly, the SNS interacted more with the Spanish-speaking teacher than with the English-speaking teacher, but the difference was not as pronounced as for the ENS. The author suggests that this was because the SNS had heard Mrs. Nolan speak Spanish from the first day of class, and a few of them did know a little English. That is, bilingual SNS would use the language they perceived was dominant in their adult interlocutor, no matter what their own primary language. The author offers as an example the time a bilingual SNS finished a piece of artwork, brought it to the author, and said, "¡Mira lo que hice!" She then brought it to Mrs. Nolan and said, "Look what I did!"

Students' interaction patterns with each other changed over the year, but the determining factor in language choice among peers was language proficiency. At beginning of year, students interacted more with same-language peers, which was evident by their self-selected seating arrangements. By April, the SNS and ENS were distributing themselves more evenly. The ENS "preferred English" (this was not quantified) when interacting with ENS or SNS, but as the year progressed, they began to include single words in Spanish, such as "That's not *morado*" or "She's cutting *verde*." During social time, the ENS used English exclusively, even when an SNS joined the group; they initiated interactions only with SNS who spoke some English. The author claims that the "SNS were gradually invited to play once they began to acquire English. English remained the language of play, even when SNS were included" (Delgado-Larocco 1998:227). However, this was based on only four observations.

The SNS interacted mostly with other SNS in Spanish. When they did interact with ENS during academic events, it was mainly to translate from Spanish to English, which was sometimes requested by the teacher but often was offered voluntarily. At other times, SNS' language choice depended on the Spanish proficiency of the interlocutor(s). The SNS used Spanish when interacting with each other, although they sometimes used English with each other when an ENS was part of the group (even if the SNS was more proficient in Spanish). Therefore, with peers as well, bilingual SNS' language choice depended on the language preference of interlocutor. Additionally, unlike ENS, most of the SNS ceded their L1 (Spanish) to accommodate those who did not know it. The exception was five SNS girls with very low English proficiency.

When students from different language backgrounds played together, sometimes they would not speak to each other, or one student would speak to the other without receiving a response. Most of the time, however, English was the language used when mixed language groups played together, and the ENS dominated the initiations. The author noted that this early use of English as the language of peer social communication may set a pattern that is automatized by the time ENS reach higher levels of Spanish proficiency, and may be too strong to overcome in the higher grades. She concluded that the increase in the status of Spanish in dual immersion classrooms "by itself may not override the effects of interacting sociopolitical factors and the existing power relationships outside the classroom" (Delgado-Larocco 1998:50), which echoes findings of Freeman (1998) and Carranza (1995) and the warnings of Valdés (1997).

Brief mention will be made of the instructional practices found in this study: the author cited an example in which Ana did not respond quickly enough to a question, so the teacher answered for her. In contrast, the author did not observe teachers answering for ENS; a question was repeated to the ENS Paula four times until she provided the correct answer herself. The author contends that many of the instructional strategies privileged the ENS' acquisition of Spanish (which was supported by pressure from ENS' parents) while SNS' English acquisition was simply expected. The small number of daily opportunities for SNS to use Spanish beyond the short-answer level indicated that primary language development for SNS was not a top priority in this class.

The principal limitation of Delgado-Larocco (1998) is the lack of quantification of students' language use, the term "preferences" being vague. There were only four groupwork social events observed. Additionally, although there were some interesting codeswitching[34] in the data, such as "Come on, pon aqui la strawberry," there was no analysis of code switching. When one takes note every five minutes of which language is being used, instances of code switching cannot be captured.

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[34] Myers-Scotton (1993) considers the use of a single lexeme from another language as a type of codeswitching; other researchers use the term "borrowing".

These five studies on language use in immersion classrooms indicate that English is usually preferred with peers and Spanish with teachers, even among Spanish L1 students. There were some exceptions found in Broner's (2000) student Marvin and several of Delgado-Larocco's (1998) Spanish L1 children. Broner (2000) offered the most quantification of language use, yet there is still much to learn about immersion and particularly dual immersion classroom language use. For example, the specific ways in which students are successful and unsuccessful at taking public turns in immersion classrooms has not been explored to date. In order to participate publicly in a language classroom, students must successfully get the floor. Students' success at gaining the floor and the development of language proficiency is an interesting area for study.

Delgado-Larocco (1998), and to some extent Broner (2000), used ethnographic approaches to highlight the complexity of immersion classroom processes, but neither examined in detail the students' home contexts and identity investments that they were engaging and negotiating as they decided which language to use under what circumstances. In order to do so, in-depth ethnographic interviews and observations are necessary.

Finally, in addition to the literature I have cited, my pilot study served to inform my research design. I visited almost every classroom at the Inter-American Magnet School from preschool through eighth grade over seven months (January through May 1999 and September through October 1999) and took fieldnotes. I also saw resource classes (gym, music, computers) and sat with students in the cafeteria and on the playground. Like Christian et al. (1997), I found that students usually used English with each other and Spanish with the teacher, although I occasionally heard students use Spanish with each other as well as English with teachers. Although there were some students in all grades with quite low Spanish oral proficiency, most of the students impressed me with their proficient oral Spanish. The office staff used Spanish almost exclusively with each other and with students, and public announcements were sometimes only in Spanish.

2.3 Ethnographies in dual immersion contexts

Three researchers – Carranza (1995), McCollum (1994) and Freeman (1998) – have conducted ethnographic studies in dual immersion settings. While several of the immersion studies just reviewed used qualitative research methodologies such as participant observation, fieldnotes, and interviews, a fuller discussion of qualitative research and its use in SLA studies demonstrates why in-depth ethnography is necessary to understand the contexts and classrooms in which dual immersion is carried out.

Not all researchers have agreed on what constitutes high quality ethnographic work, resulting in some confusion about the use of terminology as well as research designs in the field of SLA. Drawing on work by Hymes (1974), SLA researcher Watson-Gegeo (1988:576) defined ethnography as "the study of people's behavior in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behavior." The ethnographer's goal is to provide a description, an analysis, and an interpretation of what people do in a given setting. They place a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social problem by investigating a small number of cases and soliciting participants' own interpretations of their actions (Atkinson & Hammersley 1998:110). In educational research, ethnography considers the holistic nature of the classroom as a social context.

To accomplish these goals, an ethnographer generally develops a set of questions (not hypotheses) about an environment and then carries out systematic, longitudinal, detailed observations. These are called *participant-observation* because observing usually implies some degree of participation in a setting, especially within a school context. Researchers' participation in the field can range from very detached to very involved and often shifts during the study. During these observations, researchers typically take *fieldnotes*, which are written observations about the field including activities, people, dialogues, moods, and spatial relations. Often these are quick jottings of abbreviated words and phrases, which are later developed into full fieldnotes that reconstruct important events. After reviewing a series of developed fieldnotes, the researcher usually creates *analytic memos*, preliminary analyses through which s/he attempts to order experiences by creating and discovering patterns of interaction (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995:51) and often formulates new questions about the field. In addition to observations and fieldnotes, ethnographers usually make extensive use of interviews.

Ethnography has been used widely in educational research (Mehan 1979; Erickson 1981, 1982, and many others) and can offer much-needed insight on classroom language acquisition processes. van Lier (1988) urged that classroom researchers must "identify, describe and relate... actions and contributions of participants in the L2 classroom, in such a way that their significance for language learning can be understood" (1988:47). For example, he argued that researchers need to understand what competent membership in the classroom involves, because it is through competent membership that students maximize learning opportunities. Only systematic observations of dual immersion classrooms and interviews with the participants within it can allow a researcher to describe, analyze, and interpret the behaviors of the students and the teacher, as well as to describe the school as part of a cultural environment with multiple participants, all of which undoubtedly contribute to the language use and learning outcomes.

Three ethnographic studies of dual immersion contexts will be reviewed here: McCollum (1994) Carranza (1995) and Freeman (1998). They each offer important insights into dual immersion contexts as complex social environments and highlight how students' language use are intertwined with contextual factors.

McCollum (1994) conducted a three-year ethnographic study of a dual immersion school in the Southwest United States in order to identify factors that influenced students' language use. Using fieldnotes during classroom observations, she indicated that the twenty-one Hispanic focal students "almost exclusively use[d] English for academic purposes at school" (1994:10). She attributed this "refusal" to speak Spanish to the fact that the Spanish language arts teacher corrected students' Spanish varieties, which included non-prestige forms and vocabulary such as "truje" for "traje" and "asina" for "asi". The teacher also focused on formal analysis of Spanish rather than its use for communication, which according to McCollum was a practice that the students questioned. Additionally, McCollum (1994) described two practices in the school that marked it as an English domain: the ITBS Test, in English, received much more attention and preparation than did *La Prueba*, and daily announcements included an English vocabulary word but never a Spanish word. This led to students choosing to use "mainstream linguistic capital [English] to match the school's hidden curriculum that stipulated [that] learning in English took precedence over all else" (McCollum 1994:11).

Although McCollum's (1994) study demonstrates ways in which lack of attention to details such as asymmetrical practices can affect students' language use in dual immersion settings, several limitations are apparent. We have no idea how often she visited classrooms. There were no tape recordings of students' interactions, which would have contributed to the level of analytic detail. The author reported that Hispanic students used only English for academic talk, but did not mention what languages they used socially with each other, nor was there any report on the language use of the non-Hispanic focal students. While we can assume that it was from interviews and observations that McCollum learned that "student body language and asides to each other showed they did not understand why their variety of Spanish was not good enough for the classrooms" and that they "...switched to English in order to avoid being corrected" (1994:10), this four-page report does not provide great detail on what students might have said in interviews and what was an interpretation by the author. However, it suggests avenues for future study.

Carranza (1995), finding an antecedent in McCollum (1994), conducted an ethnographic study of three dual immersion schools in Washington, D.C. She analyzed interactions between teachers and students in an attempt to "specify the various levels of social interaction at which language use should be interpreted, and...describe the forces at play in the students' language choices" (1995:170). Observations and audiotapes were made of lessons and other physical settings within the school, such as hallways and the library. However, there is no mention of *which* classes, the frequency and duration of observations and recordings, or the cultural background of the Spanish-speaking students. Additionally, despite the use of recordings, the report includes no quantification of students' language use. She noted four factors that influenced students' language use: frame, Spanish proficiency, students' relationship to the interlocutor, and the enforcement of classroom rules. *Frame* was proposed by Goffman (1974) in the following ways: "classroom task" = *on task*, "inherent part of the performance of a classroom task" = *management*, and "off task but doing school" as well as "unofficial frames" = *off task*.

Carranza (1995) found that utterances produced aloud for the whole class to hear during classroom tasks were "most often" made in Spanish, while talk that either managed the performance of a task or was off task tended to be in English. Students with high Spanish proficiency used Spanish[35] even during unsupervised talk, while students with low Spanish proficiency used English even when talking to teachers. In addition to the speaker's own Spanish proficiency, the interlocutor's Spanish proficiency (actual or perceived) proved to be relevant. Carranza noted that the students used English with an Anglo-looking visitor, suggesting that this was due to "a feeling of 'pretense' when two people communicate in one language, knowing that both can be more effective in another" (1995:174). However, "in general", students used Spanish with adult native Spanish speakers in the schools.

When frame or language proficiency could not account for a student's language choice with another student, the peer relationship between them determined the choice of English, even when the children were both native Spanish speakers. This finding that English preferred by even Spanish L1 students, despite efforts to promote both languages equally, echoes the findings of McCollum (1994). Finally, Carranza (1995) found that the more strictly the "Spanish time" rule was enforced by a teacher, the more Spanish was used by students. However, no further details were provided on language rule enforcement.

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[35] The author fails to mention *how often* these high proficiency students used Spanish or if *all* high proficiency students did so. The lack of quantification of her observations represents a shortcoming to the findings.

As is common in ethnographic work, Carranza (1995) examined the outlying sociohistorical context, illustrating ways in which practices outside of schools are reenacted inside of them. She cited teachers' spelling errors on Spanish language posters and mispronunciation of Hispanic students' names and suggested a need to support teachers in their efforts to maintain Spanish language standards (1995:181). Additionally, many Hispanic students in her study demonstrated "English influence" in their Spanish; Carranza suggested that the concept of "home language" might not be a useful term to describe students' English and Spanish repertoires (1995:180).

One topic mentioned by Carranza (1995) deserves attention because it may be a fruitful area for investigation of immersion classroom language use. Since she sought to characterize dual immersion classrooms as *speech events*, she searched for the presence of three factors: ritual aspects of classroom management, metatalk, and the saliency of form in teachers' instructional talk. The first factor, ritual aspects of classroom management, includes turn taking and turn allocation. Although Carranza (1995) did not analyze turn taking or turn allocation in the classrooms she studied, she noted that:

> Given that student participation not only has an effect on the learning of content, but also constitutes opportunities to use, practice, and learn the second language, allocations of turns to talk take on an added significance in a bilingual classroom. To use an economic metaphor, in this bilingual context, time is a valuable 'commodity' that should be made available to students... in equal shares. (Carranza 1995:177)

As mentioned earlier, Delgado-Larocco (1998) examined student participation in Initiation-Response-Evaluation sequences in a dual immersion classroom, but to date no one has examined *turn allocation* specifically in an immersion or dual immersion context. Carranza (1995) thus inspired my inclusion of what I call *selectedness* as a variable in my study. Selectedness refers to whether a student bids for the floor and is chosen to speak (selected) or whether they just shout out an answer (unselected).

Additionally, students can be selected to speak voluntarily (when they bid first) and involuntarily (when they did not bid). In addition to examining the use of language in selected vs. unselected turns, my study briefly examines bidding practices, particularly the ones that were successful in that they resulted in the student being selected by the teacher.

The most complete of the three dual immersion ethnographies reviewed here is Freeman's (1998) work in the Oyster dual immersion school in Washington, D.C., which serves a largely Salvadoran population. Her analysis of several specific instances of classroom interaction combined with her descriptions of the school environment gathered over two years of participation observation, fieldnotes, and interviews highlight areas of dual immersion contexts that are relevant to my study of language use.

Freeman (1998) insisted that given the controversy and misunderstandings surrounding bilingual education, one must investigate local sociohistorical contexts in order to understand how and why specific bilingual programs function the way they do. She used *critical discourse analysis* on language and power to explain how macro-level struggles between social groups played out in micro-level spoken and written texts produced within the school. By gathering a wide range of spoken and written texts produced by policymakers, teachers, students, and parents, and by investigating multiple perspectives on those texts in isolation and collectively, Freeman sought to understand how those discourses related to larger societal discourses about linguistic and cultural diversity (1998:19).

Freeman (1998) found that the Oyster dual immersion school rejected mainstream United States expectations of a homogenous, monolingual society. Linguistic diversity was encouraged, and students were "given a wide range of positively evaluated social identities" instead of accepting an identity as "language minorities". In other words, the school discourse attempted to redefine Spanish as equal to English and to create the need for students to use both languages. Students were also encouraged to challenge racism through such activities as writing papers on salespeople's reactions when groups of students entered nearby stores.

However, Freeman (1998) found cases of "leakage" of the dominant discourse from outside the school. Although students who knew Spanish were positioned as resources of cultural capital for those who were learning it as an L2, Freeman's (1998) analysis of micro-level language episodes revealed that higher-level English skills were required in the school than Spanish skills. For example, the "opening" activity in kindergarten required more complex structures in English than it did in Spanish. Additionally, the majority of unofficial talk was in English (1998:195). As noted by Delgado-Larocco (1998), it is essential to be aware of the real extent of English domination in daily classroom exchanges, or English hegemony can become part of the school's hidden curriculum (1998:78). Although Freeman (1998) did not systematically analyze or quantify language use or provide much researcher disclosure, this ethnography provides a very comprehensive account of many levels of one dual immersion school.

The eight studies of immersion and dual immersion classroom language use reviewed here focused on the effect of the interlocutor (Broner 2000; Parker et al. 1995; Heitzman 1994; Blanco-Iglesias et al. 1995; Carranza 1995; Delgado-Larocco 1998), task (Broner 2000; Parker et al. 1995; Blanco Iglesias et al. 1995), instructional practices such as Initiation-Response-Evaluation patterns, turn allocation, and rule enforcement (Delgado-Larocco 1998; Carranza 1995) and the effects of the local sociopolitical context on internal school practices (McCollum 1994; Carranza 1995; Freeman 1998, Delgado-Larocco 1998). These studies provide important insights into language use in immersion settings, but we still lack documentation on the quantity of L1 and L2 use in dual immersion classrooms as well as an understanding of students' reasons for those language use. None of these studies combined systematic recordings and quantification of students' classroom language use with ethnographic case studies of classrooms and students.

My study sought to quantify dual immersion students' classroom language use and, like Tarone & Swain (1995), to understand students' own perspectives on those use. It is important to document students' language use in order to understand the linguistic environment of dual immersion classrooms and evaluate whether their goals are being met. Indeed, Carranza (1995:176) suggested that students' participation in dual immersion classrooms is highly significant because it affects not only on the learning of content but also constitutes opportunities to use, practice, and learn the L2. Studies that quantify classroom language use in regular immersion classrooms such as those conducted by Blanco-Iglesias et al. (1995), Parker et al. (1995) and Heitzman (1994) and particularly the level of quantification offered by Broner (2000) have not been attempted in dual immersion contexts.

In addition to quantifying students' verbal language use, I sought to understand the "why" behind that language use. Tarone & Swain sought to understand immersion students' language use from a sociolinguistic perspective and suggested that ethnographic methodologies were most useful for such an endeavor (1995:79). Although Carranza (1995), McCollum (1994) and Freeman (1998) used ethnographic perspectives that traced internal school practices to the outside environment, they did not provide detailed case studies of individual children and their language use. Parker et al. (1995) and Christian et al. (1997) referred to students' lack of *motivation* to produce Spanish. The SLA literature on motivation and attitudes led me to the concept of *investment*. The following section will describe research motivation and attitudes in immersion contexts as well as the concept of investment, which has mainly been explored mainly in ESL contexts.

2.4 Studies of attitudes, motivation, and investment in language learning

The dominant cognitive paradigm of SLA research sees interaction as an opportunity for learners to "realiz[e] the divergence between L2 forms and target language forms" (Gass, Mackey & Pica 1998:301). However, there are potentially important contextual variables surrounding all interactions, such as learner attitudes and power imbalances between the participants. For example, as indicated in the preceding discussion, several researchers (Carranza 1995; Freeman 1998; McCollum 1994) have suggested that a factor influencing language use was the status of Spanish in the outlying community. They found that even native Spanish-speaking students in dual immersion programs preferred to speak English and attributed this tendency in part to the fact that Spanish-dominant students "are so drawn to English that they are less motivated to improve their [L1] Spanish skills beyond the oral proficiency that is useful outside the school" (Christian 1996a:37). According to this interpretation, students develop an attitude in response to outlying realities which then affects their classroom language use. This section will review research on immersion students' attitudes. It will be argued that the experimental nature of most of this research limits our understandings of the role of students' attitudes, and that the broader concept of investment is more useful.

Researchers such as Lambert & Tucker (1972), Gardner (1985) and Gardner & Lambert (1972) have explored how students' attitudes can affect their L2 development. Lambert & Tucker (1972) examined students' attitudes toward the classroom itself and found that 52% of the fifth-grade students in a French immersion program agreed with the statement, "I enjoy studying French the way it is taught in school," whereas only 16% of the students in an English program with FL instruction did so. 19% of the FL students reported that they would prefer not to study French anymore, which none of the immersion students said. Their positive attitudes may explain in part the higher levels of French proficiency attained by the immersion students. They may also be a significant factor in their classroom language use, although no studies to date have attempted to make this correlation. That is, positive attitudes toward French may cause students to speak it more in class, which could lead to higher proficiency. On the other hand, it may also be possible that despite generally positive attitudes towards the L2, students may hold attitudes about the teacher, their peers, or classroom policies that cause them to choose to use English. My study used an attitudes questionnaire to explore these issues.

Much research on students' attitudes towards foreign language learning has been influenced by the socio-educational model of Gardner (1985), which was developed to interrelate four aspects of L2 learning: the social and cultural milieu, individual learner differences, the setting, and learning outcomes. According to this model, second language learners must have positive attitudes toward the target language and the target language group if they are to sustain the motivation necessary to master a second language. *Motivation* was defined by Gardner as the directed effort learners make to learn a language, while *orientation* referred to their underlying reasons for studying the L2 (1985:10). Learners were said to have an *integrative* orientation when they desire to identify with the L2 ethnolinguistic group, and an *instrumental* orientation when their learning is for utilitarian purposes such as furthering a career. Gardner (1985) held that L2 learning is mediated directly by the learner's motivations, and variations in L2 learning are associated directly with variations in individual motivation.

Research on student attitudes and motivation, primarily using matched guise instruments and self-report questionnaires, has had mixed results. Early studies done by Gardner & Lambert (1972) had indicated that integratively-oriented learners had higher L2 achievement than those with instrumental orientations. This is logical, since being accepted as a member of a community probably requires quite high levels of language proficiency. However, Au's (1988) review of 27 motivation studies revealed reports of higher L2 proficiency with instrumental orientations, which cast doubt on the concept of integrative motive as a unitary concept (1988:82). This may be due to methodological limitations of using matched guise techniques and questionnaires, as well as the difficulty distinguishing possible different types of instrumental and integrative motivation.

Ellis (1994:239) acknowledged that attitudes play a role in L2 acquisition, but contended that the relationship between attitudes and L2 achievement is an *indirect* one: attitudes determine the amount of contact learners have with the L2, the nature of the interactions they engage in, and their motivation, all of which come to bear on ultimate L2 proficiency but do not affect actual language acquisition processes. While the role of attitudes in language learning is indirect for Ellis (1994), some researchers believe that the concept of attitudes, when widened to include a student's sense of identity, has a very primordial role in L2 development. Our sense of identity is individual but is also attached to the social world around us, since it is through contact with others and with society's expectations that we forge and contest our roles within it.

Gardner (1985) claimed that the process of acquiring an L2 forces the learner to reevaluate her self-image and to integrate new social and cultural ideas, but this line of thought has not been explored much in FL research.

Returning to the concept of motivation, it seems intuitively obvious that the more a learner "wants" to learn a second language, the more successful she will ultimately be in doing so. But if motivation is viewed as something learners either have or do not have enough of, we run the risk of placing the blame for poor language learning completely on the learner and ignoring the fact that an individual's motivation is rooted in his social surroundings. Norton Peirce (1995:11) wrote that SLA theorists have not satisfactorily understood the relationship between the individual language learner and the social world because they have arbitrarily mapped some factors on the individual and others on the social context without rigorous justification. For example, Krashen (1982) hypothesized that comprehensible input is the major causal variable in SLA when the learner's *affective filter* is low. The affective filter includes motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety, all of which for Krashen pertain to the individual rather than the social context. But Norton Peirce (1995) as well as Spolsky (1989) regard motivation and social context as inseparable.

Recent investigations that consider the learner a complex social being have come from ESL contexts using qualitative research orientations. As mentioned in Section 2.4, in order to explore the complexity of individuals and their social environments, qualitative orientations offer more useful research tools than controlled experiments. The construction of identities within educational settings is a complex, multifaceted social phenomenon that is best investigated with case studies (Locke Davidson 1996:52). In case studies, researchers "spend substantial time on site, personally in contact with activities and operations of the case, reflecting [and] revising meanings of what is going on" (Stake 1998:99). The goal of case studies, particularly what Stake (1998:88) calls *instrumental* case studies, is to illuminate both what is common and what is particular about a given case, not necessarily in order to make generalizations or to compare it to other cases, but rather to understand one case deeply in order to advance our understanding of some issue. Part of the great value of case studies lies in the fact that their narratives provide a vicarious experience through which readers can actually experience and interpret the case to some extent, which "feed[s] into the most fundamental processes of awareness and understanding" (Stake 1998:94).

A growing body of research in ESL including Norton Peirce (1995), Willett (1995), McKay & Wong (1996) and Norton (2000) has used case studies to analyze how students' identity, power relations, and social interactions affect their second language learning experiences both inside and outside of the classroom.

Norton (2000) conducted an ethnographic case study of five ESL immigrant women[36] in Canada. She sought to understand how opportunities for these women to practice English were socially structured outside the classroom, how the women responded to those opportunities, and how their responses might be understood with reference to their *investment* in English and their changing social identities across time and space. As defined by Norton Peirce, the concept of investment "more accurately signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of the women to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" than does the concept of motivation (1995:17).

Investment stems from Bordieu's (1977) social theory cultural capital which, using economic metaphors, explores the value of knowledge and modes of thought in a society. Some forms of cultural capital have a higher "exchange value" than others in a given social context. Norton Peirce argued that learners "invest" in an L2 when they feel they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources including friendship, education, and money, as well as access to things that were previously unavailable to them. Additionally, they must see the return on their investment in learning the L2 as worth the effort expended. This is different from integrative or instrumental motivation (Gardner 1985) in that it is not something that one has or does not have, nor a unitary and ahistorical concept, but rather captures to the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world.

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[36] Although my study involves children, not adults, this book is crucial to the underpinnings of recent research on how identity and social context interact with language learning.

Investment conceives of the learner as having a complex history and multiple desires, and emphasizes that when people speak, they are not just exchanging information; they are constantly reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. A learner's investment can seem at times contradictory, changing over time and space depending on the momentary conditions of *identity* and *power*, two concepts central to Norton's (2000) work.

Norton (2000) uses the term *identity* to refer to how a person understands her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed over time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. At its core are basic human needs for recognition, affiliation, and safety, which often produce multiple and contradictory desires. Individuals' identities must be understood with reference to the larger social structure in which they live, because societies (and classrooms) not only give us strong messages about whom we can be and to what we can aspire, they can actually forbid or curtail our participation in given social networks.

A person's identity construction cannot be separated from the distribution of resources in society, because it is a person's access to resources that defines the terms on which her desires and their realization will be articulated. *Power* refers to the socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions and communities through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed, and validated. It is a relationship that is constantly renegotiated, but in general, those who have power control access to the material goods that others want. According to McKay & Wong (1996:127), a student may be marginalized in a certain context, but may resist that positioning or even set up a counter-discourse that places her in a more powerful position.

Norton spent two years involved in the lives of five adult immigrant women in Canada. She used interviews, written diaries, and participant-observations. The five women in the study provide interesting points of contrast in exploring these issues. There was Eva, a twenty-something unmarried restaurant worker originally from Poland; Mai, a married, twenty-something garment worker from Vietnam whose brother's family lived nearby; Katarina, a thirty-something biology teacher from Poland, married with one child, who worked at a series of jobs ranging from kitchen help to attendant at a senior home; Martina, a thirty-something professional surveyor from the former Czechoslovakia, with a husband and three children, working as cook help and then as a cashier; and Felicia, a forty-something homemaker from Peru with a professional husband and three children. Their different conditions of employment, family, and experiences in their former countries proved to be significant in shaping their experiences with English once living in Canada. The main questions posed by Norton included the following: What opportunities were available to these women to interact with English speakers? What happened when native speakers avoided interaction with them? Under what conditions were they introverted or sensitive to rejection? When would they take more language risks, and why?

Norton painted detailed individual portraits of the ways in which opportunities to practice speaking English were socially structured for the five women. One of the most salient findings was that the women did not always feel free to interact with whom they chose. They felt constrained by power imbalances and shifting notions of identity. In other words, 'naturalistic' language learning is not always a linguistic utopia in which learners are surrounded by fluent native speakers who enthusiastically provide input and negotiate meaning in an egalitarian and supportive atmosphere. For many immigrants, the linguistic environment represents inequitable relations of power and even hostility, with native speakers "more likely to avoid [learners] than negotiate meaning with them" (Norton 2000:113).

A few of Norton's examples will serve to illustrate how investment, identity, and power had profound effects on these women's language experiences. Katarina insisted on Polish in the home and sent her daughter to Polish Saturday classes, fearing that English threatened their bond. However, she needed English in order to regain the professional status she had enjoyed in Poland. This investment in social class caused her to bitterly resist being positioned by immigrant officials or educational personnel as unskilled and uneducated. She was not interested in unskilled labor or English classes that emphasized "definitions for a test" or speaking skills. She wanted to learn enough English to complete a computer course, work autonomously, and gain respect from the educated professionals with whom she identified.

Martina wanted to learn the spoken English necessary to deal with landlords and appliance vendors in order to take over such tasks from her children and to secure a better life for her family. Since her limited knowledge of Canadian cultural practices made it unlikely for her to find a job as a surveyor, she worked as kitchen help in a fast food restaurant. However, her teenage coworkers marginalized her from contact with Anglophones by not allowing her to interact with customers and by sending her off to sweep the floor while they chatted. She once challenged the girls – "I said no. The girl... is younger than my son." Norton argued that this woman's investment in English was largely structured by her identity as the primary caregiver in the family. That is, her identity as a mother "structured her relationship to both the private and the public world and had a marked impact on the ways she created opportunities to practice English and interact in the workplace" (100). Unfortunately, she often felt "stupid" due to her lack of English fluency, exacerbated by her experiences of marginalization in Canada – landlords who exploited her, appliance dealers who deceived her, employers and co-workers who ignored her, and management that terminated her husband's employment (2000:101).

Felicia and her husband had permanently relocated to Canada, but she defined herself as a "foreigner person who lives here by accident" rather than an immigrant. When her identity as a wealthy Peruvian was validated among coworkers and others who knew her history, she felt comfortable speaking English. If not, she felt silenced. For example, she preferred not to speak among strangers on an elevator rather than risk the possibility of being positioned as an immigrant. Norton noted that Felicia needed English for survival much less than the other women, which permitted her to remain silent more often. Similarly, when the fifth woman, Eva, was given menial jobs that carried little status in the workplace, she felt she could not claim the right to speak to her coworkers – "How can I talk to them? I hear they don't care about me and I don't feel to go and smile and talk to them." Her struggles were ultimately successful when her coworkers learned that she had useful allies outside the workplace. This gave her the power to shift her identity to include status and respect, at which time she felt more confident speaking English to them.

Through Norton's portrayal of these women, it becomes clear that job competence can provide the symbolic capital necessary to claim the right to speak in the workplace; this may also be true for younger learners vis a vis their successful school identities as students, athletes, or popular friends. It also provides compelling evidence that a learner's past history, age, and positions within their families can influence how they understand their relationship to their new society and how they create, respond to, and resist opportunities to speak English. This perspective is crucial in SLA because instead of considering learners as isolated individuals, it emphasizes the analysis of their histories and local communities.

Norton argues for the incorporation of her findings into SLA theory, particularly the fact that one cannot assume egalitarian relationships between learners and natives. She delineates how Spolsky's (1989) natural language learning, Schumann's (1978) accultuation model, and Krashen's (1981) affective filter do not adequately conceptualize the relationship between immigrant language learners and the target language community. Given that most theories of SLA recognize the need for learners to actually produce the language, it is crucial to understand that "A learner's motivation to speak is mediated by other investments that may conflict with the desire to speak – investments that are intimately connected to the ongoing production of the learners' identities and their desires for the future" (Norton 2000:120) and which are often bound to inequitable power relations and gender politics. This has been proposed by bilingual educators such as Edelsky & Hutchinson (1998), who emphasize *access* to social interaction for language acquisition to take place, and by Cummins (1986), who claimed that power relationships affect both school achievement and classroom language practices.

One of the great strengths of this research (Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2000) is that it presents the women's own voices through abundant quotes, lending credibility to the author's interpretations. The narratives also detail the contradictions in the women's behavior, highlighting the truth that humans are complex beings whose linguistic practices cannot be reduced to our motivation. The author reiterates that all five women were indeed motivated to learn English, evidenced by their participation in extra courses, the diary study, and their statements of wanting to have more contact with Anglophones. What got in the way was their discomfort talking to people in whom they had a particular *investment*, someone who had the power to challenge the visions of themselves that they wanted to live. Norton Peirce (1995) concluded by suggesting that the definition of communicative competence include an awareness that those who speak must feel regarded as worthy to be listened to. She argued that an individual cannot be defined as motivated or unmotivated "without considering that these are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual" (1995:12). She suggested that SLA theory needs to develop a conception of language learners as having complex social identities that must be understood with reference to larger and often inequitable social structures that are often reflected in day-to-day interactions.

Working within a similar social identity construct, Willett (1995) examined the role of the interactional routines and strategies of four first-grade ESL children. The author took fieldnotes during participant-observations she carried out in the classroom as a teacher's aide for one year. She systematically audiotaped classroom lessons and specifically the interactions of three of the ESL children. She also kept notes concerning the social and academic life of the classroom, the school, and the outlying community, and conducted interviews with the parents and the teacher. She used a list of broad questions about how the children participated in classroom events and how their participated over time as their English competence grew to guide the analyses within and across data types.

One of Willett's (1995) important findings was that when students interacted with peers, they used more varied discourse roles and more complex, sustained language than when they interacted with teachers. Student-teacher interactions were short and controlled by the teachers. Student-student interactions were more playful and involved longer responses, more negotiation for meaning, and a faster-paced dialogue. This echoes the findings about "Bob" cited earlier (Liu 1994). According to Willett, this was not due to children's language proficiency, but rather to the limited interactional roles available to them as the less-powerful participants within adult-child exchanges (1995:492). Other research has similarly indicated that classrooms are dominated by teacher-fronted lessons and Initiation-Response-Evaluation sequences (Cazden 1988; Delgado-Larocco 1998) and that such lessons result in fewer student turns than student-centered work (Hatch 1992:103).

Gender proved to be another important factor in Willett's (1995) study. The three girls in the study were able to work together because that was considered appropriate behavior for girls in the classroom. They pooled what little information they each had and worked together quietly, which allowed them to construct identities as competent despite their limited English. The boy, in contrast, had a different set of routines to follow in order to gain status with the other boys. These included avoiding asking anyone for help and shouting out in class in order to have a public presence. However, these attempts to gain status caused the teachers to perceive him as a needy, less competent student. Although all four children scored equally on the Bilingual Syntax Measure, the girls were exited from ESL while the boy was held for another year.

Willett concluded that who can say what to whom, for what purpose, and in what manner is shaped to a large extent by both the local social system and by the identities, social relations, and ideologies acquired by students. These identities, relations, and ideologies in turn "inhibit or facilitate the development of interactional routines from which learners acquire input for psycholinguistic processing" (Willett 1995:477). The author focused specifically on how interaction routines shaped the children's access to the languaculture[37] of the classroom. She cautioned against relying on the individual as the predominant unit of analysis in the study of language acquisition, because the members and the politics of the classroom she studied had jointly constructed the ESL children's identities, social relations, and communicative competence in that setting. In turn, these identities and social relations affected conditions for language development.

Utilizing Norton Perice's (1995) concept of investment, McKay & Wong (1996) conducted an ethnographic study of the ESL development of four Chinese adolescent immigrants. The authors claimed that in order to understand success and failure in ESL, one must move beyond a "language-as-code" approach and instead view the L2 learner as a complex social being. In contrast to experimental SLA research, this perspective sees learners' identities more comprehensively and examines interconnections of discourse and power in the language learning setting. They chose to address this topic based on the following observations, which traditional SLA studies have not attempted to explain:

> "Why do some learners, in some contexts, draw upon every available strategy to make themselves understood and to progress in the target language, while in other contexts they do not? Why...do some learners seem to act counter-productively, using strategies that subvert or oppose the language performance expectations of the situation rather than fulfill them?"
>
> McKay & Wong, 1996:578.

Like Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2000), McKay & Wong (1996) pointed out weaknesses in early sociolinguistic research in SLA, in which motivation was considered a "monolithic inner quality" and whereby unsuccessful learners could be blamed for not being "more motivated". This earlier research also ignored the fact that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information; they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world.

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[37] The term "languaculture" was coined by Agar (1994) to emphasize that language and culture are inseparable.

Employing Norton Peirce's (1995) concept of investment, McKay & Wong (1996) emphasized that an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity.

The authors observed 155 hours of writing instruction activities over a two-year period in a junior high school in California. They also collected writing samples from the three students. Proceeding from Norton Peircr's (1995) premise that language learners have complex social identities that must be understood with reference to inequitable social structures, McKay & Wong (1996) stressed that learners have the ability to resist the way that those in power position them by creating a counter-position in which they are more powerful. Some of the four students in their case study were able to resist the five positions or "discourses" that the authors identified as having been created for them by the school. Some of them resisted being positioned as ESL students by drawing strength from their other identities. For example, "Michael" derived enough satisfaction from his social identity as a popular athlete that he did not feel compelled to excel as a student, which was evident in his English development.

The students had different investments and coping strategies, causing different trajectories in their language development (although no linguistic analyses of the student's English were included in the article). McKay & Wong (1996) concluded that learners' needs, desires, and negotiations of identity are "not simply distractions from the proper task of language learning [...]. Rather, they must be regarded as constituting the very fabric of students' lives and as determining their investment in learning the target language" (1996:603).

Norton reminds us that "It is consistent, organized and instructed language learning that is unusual in the sill largely ad hoc world of second language learning" (2000:xv). Although my study does take place in a classroom, investment may be a useful concept for understanding both Heritage learners' and L2 students' classroom language use in a dual immersion program. As in ESL contexts, students are immersed in Spanish for a significant portion of the school day and need high levels of proficiency in order to master the content. They are expected to display their classroom and schoolwork competence in

Spanish; whether or not they choose to do so may be a product of the investments that they make in the Spanish language and in the identities they are forging inside and outside of the classroom. No studies to date have used investment as a heuristic for understanding students' language use in a dual immersion setting.

2.5 Research questions

Dual immersion classrooms are complex environments that combine native and non-native speakers of Spanish as well as children of varying ethnic backgrounds and social classes. While some studies have reported on language use in regular immersion (Broner 2000; Blanco Iglesias et al. 1995) and dual immersion classrooms (Carranza 1995; Freeman 1998; Christian et al. 1997), only Delgado-Larocco (1998) quantified the naturalistic classroom language use of dual immersion students. Furthermore, no immersion studies have utilized the concept of investment (Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2000; McKay & Wong 1996) as a heuristic for understanding that language use.

Contrary to other research findings (Broner 2000; Parker et al. 1995), during my pilot observations in dual immersion classrooms I noticed that both Spanish L1 and Spanish L2 students sometimes used English with the teacher during Spanish lessons; that some students used Spanish much more than others; that some students seemed to promote Spanish language use among their classmates; and that the type of activity sometimes resulted in greater or less Spanish use. I developed my research question from the ideas explored in the literature review as well as from these observations. The research question that guided my study was the following: (1) What are the patterns of language use in a Spanish-English dual immersion classroom, and (2) what factors help explain these patterns?

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

As outlined in Chapter Two, research on naturalistic language use within immersion contexts is scarce, yet crucial for understanding and improving immersion language education (Tarone & Swain 1995; Broner 2000). The processes I sought to describe and understand were dual immersion students' language use and the factors that explain that use. The best way to systematically quantify and describe students' language output was through the regular use of tape recordings (cf Broner 2000; Hetizman 1994; Parker et al. 1995; Carranza 1995). These could be coded and quantified, and trends could be identified in relation to the variables identified both in the literature as well as in my earlier observations.

As discussed in Chapter 2, interpreting the explanations behind students' language use is best done through qualitative research methods, including interviews and participant observations (Tarone & Swain 1995; Norton Peirce 1995; Willett 1995; McKay & Wong 1996). According to Tarone & Swain, "the sort of evidence we need...is best provided qualitatively, either by ethnographic discourse analyses of individual children in the classroom, by verbal reports from these learners, or both" (1995:170). The qualitative design as well as the quantitative recording and coding processes will be described in detail in this chapter. I employed an ethnographic case study approach in order to understand individual students' language use as a product of their investments in the different identities they wanted to develop.

In this chapter I will describe: 1) the dual immersion school I selected for my study, 2) the classroom and the teacher, 3) the participants, 4) the data collection techniques, and 5) the data analysis procedures, including the seven variables identified for analyzing students' turns.

3.1 The dual immersion school

I chose a school in Chicago, Illinois, for two reasons. As of late 1998, Chicago had 18 dual immersion schools to choose from (according to CAL's 1998 online directory) and its population is 26% Latino, making it the fourth largest Hispanic city in the United States (United States Census 2000). The composition of the city's Hispanic population is 69% Mexican, 17% Puerto Rican, 2.5% Guatemalan, 2% Cuban and 12% other groups (Census 2000), which provides interesting variation for studying issues of Spanish language use and learning. Another important factor was the student population. Since I wanted to look at both L1 and L2 students of Spanish, I needed a school with at least a 30% non-Hispanic student population[38]. Using the CAL online directory, in October of 1998 I contacted the six schools in the city that met this criteria. In December of 1998 the Inter-American school welcomed an initial visit. I visited once a month for the remainder of the school year, and in August 1999 the Principal agreed to my project proposal.

Official documents about the Inter-American Magnet School indicate that 65% of the approximately 640 students are Hispanic, suggesting that the other 35% did not know Spanish when they arrived to the school. In the spring of 2000, 98% of the schools' teachers responded to my questionnaire which confirmed that 33% of the students had no Spanish spoken in the home. In addition to having the student language background I was seeking, the school has a very good reputation. Student achievement on standardized tests regularly exceed state, city, and district norms, and the school has seen five Golden Apple teaching award winners, one Illinois Teacher of the Year, and more than two dozen newspaper and magazine articles published about it. Teachers regularly give presentations at bilingual education and dual immersion conferences, and educators visit from all over the United States. The school has also been one of ten participating schools in two longitudinal studies conducted by the Center for Applied Linguistics.

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[38] Although not all Hispanic students speak Spanish, basing my selection on the percent of non-Hispanic students proved useful.

The Inter-American Magnet School was founded in 1975 by two parents who wanted their children to be schooled bilingually and biculturally. It is a magnet school, which means that it is a public school that accepts children from all over the city through a lottery system. The school typically receives 400 applications each year for its 70 preschool openings. From these applicants, 30% of the admitted children must be from the neighborhood. In order to maintain magnet school status and comply with desegregation laws, a minimum of 15% of the student population must be European American. The school is located in an affluent neighborhood on the north side of the city, but due to its magnet status it serves children from all corners of Chicago and reflects its diversity: 65% of the children are Hispanic; 14% are African American; 19% are European American, and 60% receive free or reduced lunch. Siblings of current students and children of teachers and staff are automatically permitted to enroll, due to the school's commitment to a family-like environment. Quite a few teachers and staff have had children and grandchildren attending the school.

The Inter-American's language program model can be described as "80-20". In preschool through 3rd grade, 80% of the curriculum is taught in Spanish and 20% in English. Only kindergarteners and first graders are separated by language background for short periods during the day in order to learn to read in their dominant language. In grades 4 through 6, Spanish is used for 60% of the curriculum[39], and 7th and 8th grades are split fifty-fifty. The two languages are divided by subject: in fifth grade, the classes taught in Spanish are Spanish language arts, math, and half of the social studies curriculum; the classes taught in English are English language arts, science, and the other half of the social studies curriculum. Preschool through fifth grade are self-contained classrooms, which means that students stay in the same room with the same teacher all day long. In sixth, seventh, and eight grade, students alternate between three classrooms with different teachers for English language arts, Spanish language arts and social studies, and math and science.

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[39] "Curriculum" refers to core academic subjects. "Resource" classes (music, gym and computers) are taught in English, a point that will be revisited in Chapter 4.

In order to place my study within a context, I wanted to learn about the school's values, goals, and struggles by observing widely. This required my being accepted as a researcher throughout the building and at different events. I presented myself at the August faculty meeting and asked for permission to visit all classrooms as well as the cafeteria, gymnasium, playground, and assemblies. I also received permission to attend monthly meetings of both the Local School Council and the Parent Advisory Committee. The Local School Council is a state-mandated governing board for every school in the city. It is composed of eleven elected members from the school and the community, and among their most important tasks are approving the yearly School Improvement Plan, evaluating the principal, and deciding upon the use of discretionary funds. The Parent Advisory Committee consists of all willing parent volunteers who work to raise and administer funds for curricular and extracurricular expenses. I attended all meetings of both groups throughout the 1999-2000 school year.

3.2 The classroom and the teacher

Between January and May 1999, I made monthly day-long classroom observations, visiting a total of fifteen classrooms ranging from preschool to eighth grade. In August 1999 I moved to Chicago and began more regular observations. From August to September 1999 I made 20 visits to a total of 14 different classrooms ranging from preschool to eighth grade. I took fieldnotes[40] on my general impressions, particularly language use in the school (Potowski 1999).

By the beginning of October, I decided to focus on a fifth grade classroom, based on findings that language use patterns in immersion classrooms begin to change around fourth and fifth grade (Tarone &

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[40] The use of fieldnotes was described in Chapter 2.

Swain 1995; Blanco-Iglesias, Broner, & Tarone 1995; Met & Lorenz 1997:258) and on findings that by fifth grade, Spanish language learners scored as fully proficient in Spanish (Christian 1996a). Two immersion researchers in Minneapolis had also focused on fifth grade classrooms (Broner 2000; Fortune, in progress). Additionally, unlike younger children, ten- and eleven-year-old students seemed more likely to be able to express their attitudes towards and investment in Spanish. At the Inter-American, fifth grade is the last year of self-contained classrooms in which students have the same teacher all day long. Since they begin changing classrooms in sixth grade, anything after fifth grade would have given me less time to collect data with a single teacher.

I had observed Ms. Torres'[41] classroom for a total of three hours, spread over two days in August and two days in September, before selecting it as the focus of the study. I chose her classroom based on two principal factors: (1) of the three fifth-grade classrooms at the school, she was one of two native Spanish-speaking teachers, and (2) she agreed to participate in a study of her classroom over the course of an entire school year. This agreement included permission for me to observe her classroom extensively, follow the class around the building during the day, contact parents for permission to work with their children, and conduct interviews with her and with the students.

Ms. Torres' family immigrated to Chicago from Mexico when she was fourteen years old and today she is a very fluent Spanish-English bilingual. She chose to teach at the Inter-American because seven years earlier, wanting to maintain her daughter's fluent Spanish, Ms. Torres had enrolled her in preschool at the Inter-American. After spending her semester-long student teaching assignment in a third grade classroom at the school, Ms. Torres completed her education degree and was placed in a fifth grade classroom. This was therefore her second year teaching fifth grade at the school. During the year of this study, her daughter was in sixth grade and her son in first grade at the school, and her husband, a prominent Spanish-language advertising executive, was president of the Local School Council.

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[41] All names used in this study are pseudonyms. In oral speech, all women teachers and administrators at the school were referred to as "Ms." regardless of their marital status.

I found Ms. Torres' teaching style very comfortable to observe. She encouraged students to participate actively, to ask questions, and to make connections across subject areas. While shouting out answers and laughter were common in her classroom, Ms. Torres maintained sufficient discipline in order to carry out her academic goals (which may be expected but is not always achieved). Morning classes, which were Spanish language arts, math, and half of the social studies curriculum, were taught in Spanish. Afternoon classes, which were English language arts, science, and the other half of the social studies curriculum, were taught in English. Ms. Torres taught the students the entire day.

3.3 The student participants

The composition of Ms. Torres' classroom was well suited to my study. Of the twenty students, eleven had Spanish spoken in the home, both according to the students themselves as well as their permanent cumulative school files. The other nine students were monolingual English speakers when they arrived to the school. The class was divided evenly between girls and boys. Sixteen students returned consent forms signed by their parents[42] - eight boys and eight girls.

Four focal students were chosen to observe and record. The use of focal students was considered the most effective way to collect naturally occurring classroom data both among students and between the students and the teacher because I could focus on a small subset of the classroom (cf. Heitzman 1994; Parker et al. 1995). Two girls and two boys were chosen to balance for gender, one of each L1. The selected students represented similar levels of oral Spanish proficiency (as rated informally by the teacher and by me) and of academic achievement as measured by the Illinois Goal Assessment Program (IGAP),

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[42] Signed consent forms were collected in October 1999. The project had received University of Illinois Internal Review Board approval for Human Subjects Research in August 1999.

La Prueba, and teacher assessments on report cards (cf. Heitzman 1994). Based on my observations and Ms. Torres' input, all four were rated medium to high for their classroom participation in Spanish. This information on the four student participants is presented in Appendix A. A short narrative description about each student follows. Due to the open-ended nature of the interviews that generated this information, I do not have exactly the same data for all four families.

Carolina is a petite brown-skinned girl whose parents were from Ecuador and Honduras. Her mother was brought to the United States from Ecuador when she was five years old, and now worked in human resources. They lived in a single family detached residence in a nice neighborhood. Carolina had an older sister at the school and a two-year old sister at home. Carolina was one of the most fluent Spanish speakers in Ms. Torres' class. She spoke Spanish at home with her parents and her maternal grandparents, and she had no trouble expressing herself orally in class in either language, although she occasionally used English lexical items in her Spanish (e.g. "Está *wrestling* con un cocodrilo"). She was one of the most active participants in the classroom in all subject areas, volunteering answers to the teacher's questions and helping other students with vocabulary. Her classmates treated her as a competent peer.

Melissa is a tall light-skinned European-American girl. She spoke only English at home with her parents, who were both educators. The family lived on the top floor of a two flat building in a popular neighborhood. Her oral Spanish proficiency allowed her to communicate her basic ideas, but she often struggled to find the words she wanted to say in Spanish. Although she did not often volunteer answers during teacher-fronted lessons, I noticed her early in my observations because unlike the majority of her classmates, she used a lot of Spanish during unsupervised peer talk. Somewhat like Broner's (2000) student "Marvin", other students sometimes expressed coolness towards her enthusiasm for Spanish and her intense focus on completing her classwork, which was occasionally at the expense of socializing and sharing materials with other students. However, she did have friendly working relationships with several students in the class. She was an avid reader, received excellent grades, and loved music, particularly her violin lessons. She had a younger brother at the school.

Matt is an olive-skinned, dark haired boy whose mother immigrated from El Salvador when she was eighteen years old. Four generations of his family occupied all three apartments in a building located in a quiet, residential neighborhood. He had a three-year old sister at home. Matt's mom said that Matt regularly responded in English when she spoke to him in Spanish. Matt did speak Spanish at home with his maternal grandparents and with his maternal great-grandmother, who were monolingual in Spanish. Matt's stepfather was European American and did not know Spanish. Matt's oral Spanish was very native-like, although he often used English words or shifted into English entirely. He seemed ahead of his peers in his knowledge of school-related subjects and in his analytical skills, which was corroborated by his grades and standardized test scores, and he participated frequently in class, but towards the end of the school year he was beginning to exhibit a discourse of resistance to homework and school in general. According to Ms. Torres, he knew that girls were starting to notice him and had begun flirting with some of them.

Otto is a gregarious, highly talkative African-American boy whose mother, from Liberia, and his father, from Guinea, had immigrated to the United States before he was born. Otto lived with his mother and siblings (his older sister and younger brother both attended the Inter-American) in a large multifamily building. He spoke Standard English at home, and his oral Spanish proficiency was rated "average" by CAL examiners. He struggled to express himself in Spanish and several of his erroneous verbal forms seemed fossilized throughout the year (*yo estás, nosotros vas*). Although he was not as fluent or as accurate in Spanish as Melissa, he was more fluent than some of his classmates and he participated more than most of them during Spanish lessons. He was bright and competitive, which sometimes manifested as aggressive behavior toward other students (several of whom did not want to work with him) and toward teachers.

3.4 Data gathering

The research question that guided my study was the following:

> What are the patterns of language use in a dual immersion classroom, and what factors help explain these patterns?

I sought to answer this question through the recording, quantification, and analysis of classroom data and through the analysis of a combination of fieldnotes taken during observations, interviews, a journal entry written by the students about their Spanish proficiency and use, a written questionnaire, and a qualitative analysis of the classroom recordings.

In October 1999, I began conducting participant observations several mornings a week during classes taught in Spanish: Spanish language arts, social studies, and math. I took fieldnotes about what languages were used by what students and about behaviors that seemed to reflect their attitudes toward each other, toward the teacher, and toward Spanish. Students sat at clusters of four to five desks, which were rearranged approximately every month. I sat with a different cluster of desks every two or three visits. I also observed students in gym, lunch, recess, computers, music, and classes taught in English. I occasionally went to fifth grade choir practice and attended their performance at the end of the year. In April, I accompanied all three fifth grade classes on an overnight field trip to the Cahokia Indian Mounds in southern Illinois.

The following sections describe in detail the quantitative and qualitative data gathering procedures used in this study.

3.4.1 Instruments

I wanted to quantify the amount of Spanish and English being used during Spanish lessons. The best way to do this was through recordings of students' interactions. I began tape recording in December by placing a

Radio Shack 14-1205 stereo cassette recorder on the desk of a focal student[43]. However, while listening to the tapes afterwards, it was not always possible to distinguish the identity of the speaker or the interlocutor, nor did I have access to facial gestures or other information about the exchange. I added video recording in January by placing a Sony Handycam 8mm video camera on a tripod in a corner of the room and zoom focusing on the group that was being audio recorded.

Unlike Broner (2000), I did not request that the four focal students be placed together for my research, preferring instead to work with the natural procedures of the classroom. A resulting advantage was that since students changed table arrangements once a month, the recordings gathered a much wider variety of student interlocutors. However, since the four focal students were not together for every recording, I needed to record a larger number of hours of data than Broner's (2000) nine hours in order to gather a significant number of hours for each student. Although more than one of my four focal students were often present in a given recording, some recordings only had one focal student. Only during the last two recording sessions did I use two tape recorders at the same time and a wider video shot in order to tape all four children simultaneously at their different locations in the classroom. Appendix B shows all of the observations and recordings I made in Ms. Torres' classroom between October 1999 and May 2000.

In total, 31 lessons in Spanish were recorded. I also taped all four students during two English language arts lessons and two English social studies lessons and confirmed my observations that they never used Spanish during English lessons. 22 of the 31 recordings were made with both audio and video equipment. Due to technical difficulties, ten additional lessons were taped only with audio, and one lesson was taped only with video. By May, I decided to exclude from my analysis the math classes I had recorded, preferring to focus instead on students' output during the more language-oriented Spanish language arts and social studies classes.

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[43] Unfortunately, some turns were inaudible and had to be eliminated from the corpus. A lapel microphone would likely have produced clearer data.

I selected a total of sixteen lessons from the twenty-two recordings for the data corpus – eleven in Spanish language arts and five in Spanish social studies (see Appendix C). There were more language arts than social studies lessons because half of the social studies curriculum was taught in English, and I only recorded lessons taught in Spanish. I selected the bulk of my sample for analysis (eleven of the sixteen lessons) from the recordings with both audio and video, since they provided a more complete account of students' interactions. Five of the recorded lessons in the corpus have audio only, but were included for two reasons: (1) to include data from December, and (2) to have a balanced number of hours for each focal student. Fieldnotes taken during those sessions supplemented the audio/video recordings, allowing further analysis of the interactions[44].

The sixteen class sessions totaled twelve hours and thirty-five minutes of data. There are five and half hours of recordings per student in which the student was the "main student" of the recording, meaning that the tape recorder was on the desk of the student(s) and recording both their public and non-public speech. There are additional recordings of students' public speech only because it was loud enough for the video equipment to record, even though the tape recorder was not on the students' desks. Very occasionally, the video recorder was close enough to a student to pick up non-public speech as well. Adding the nonpublic and public speech, I analyzed approximately 6½ to 8½ hours of recorded classroom data per student, collected over five months. I believe that the twelve and a half hours of data that I recorded in these sixteen sessions accurately reflect the students' interaction patterns as I observed them during 90 hours of class over eight months of research, and provide enough data for me to carry out the analyses I have proposed.

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[44] Other research on language use in immersion classrooms has relied solely on audio recordings (Broner 2000; Parker et al. 1995).

Finally, I gathered students' scores on the Illinois Goal Assessment Program exam, which measures math, science, and language abilities in English, and the *La Prueba Riverside Spanish Achievement Test*, which measures the same things in Spanish.

In addition to quantifying Spanish and English use, I wanted to explore students' reasons for their language use. Following Norton Peirce (1995), I used the concept of *investment* to explore how students' identity constructions were relevant to their language use. In order to understand these young people's investment in Spanish, qualitative research methods such as those described in Chapter Two were used. In addition to participant-observation and notetaking, I gave students a written questionnaire (Appendix D) that intended to explore their attitudes toward Spanish, including their perceptions of the importance of Spanish in their personal lives, in Chicago, and in the school, as well as their opinion about how Spanish is taught at school (cf. Lambert & Tucker 1972). I also conducted individual interviews with students, parents, and the teacher. What I wanted to understand from the student interviews was how they themselves understood and explained three general concepts: (1) their home language use; (2) their classroom language use, including how they perceived classroom language use patterns and enforcement, and how they described their own Spanish and English use in the classroom (including that of their teacher and classmates); and (3) *Why* they used language the way they did in the classroom, including further questions about their attitudes towards Spanish use in the classroom.

All interviews were tape recorded and were semi-structured in that I used interview guides (see Appendix E) but participants were allowed to talk freely when answering. After piloting the interview questions on a non-focal student, I began interviewing focal students in April 2000 during a non-critical classroom activity (one that was not crucial for the students' classroom achievement). I interviewed students in English because I wanted them to be able to express themselves freely, and English was the dominant language for all four students. The two Spanish L2 students were stronger in English; indeed, had I interviewed them in Spanish, I am certain that the responses would not have been as rich. As for the

Hispanic students, during my nine months of observations I only heard them use English during social interactions. One of them used English very frequently in class, and often mixed English within his Spanish comments. I sensed that the other one might feel equally comfortable in either language. When I asked her (in Spanish) which language she preferred for the interview, she chose English. Although I am highly proficient in Spanish, English is my dominant language; I wanted to avoid the sense of "falseness" that can arise when two people communicate in one language when they could do so more effectively in another (cf. Carranza 1995:174). The interview was not intended to rate students' Spanish proficiency, but rather to probe issues of investment in learning and speaking Spanish. I was able to interview each student once.

I also recorded one parent interview with each of the children's mother, because the mothers were the parents who had signed the consent forms and returned my phone calls. Additionally, since one child did not have a father or stepfather living in his home, talking with mothers provided more uniformity across the four interviews. All of these interviews were conducted in the participants' homes. Three of the four parent interviews were conducted in English. Two of the mothers did not know Spanish. I had met the other two mothers on the class field trip and one used English with me, the other Spanish, and on this I based the language of the interview. Parent interviews were used to provide information on the child's language background as well as on the parents' language attitudes, since children's language attitudes have been shown to reflect those of their parents (cf. Gardner 1960; Feenstra 1969). The mothers also provided important insights on how they perceived their children's investment in Spanish.

I also conducted two recorded interviews with Ms. Torres (in addition to our frequent informal conversations) about issues that interested me during ongoing data analysis. I attempted to understand how she understood her job as a dual immersion teacher, how she rated students' Spanish proficiency, participation, and attitudes, as well as her attitudes towards the focal students themselves, since a teacher's attitudes towards learners can influence the question frequency and feedback patterns directed to them (Jackson & Costa 1974). Tucker & Lambert (1973) considered teacher attitudes more important than even parental or community attitudes in influencing students' classroom SLA. In the first interview, conducted in October, I asked preliminary questions about her background and how she came to teach at the Inter-American school. We discussed general trends of language use in her classroom and the Spanish and English use and proficiency of most of the students, which was very useful in the selection of the eight focal students. In the second interview, conducted in May, I asked about how she promoted Spanish language use in the classroom and about her perceptions of the focal students.

I also read several pieces of students' writing, particularly their CAL Spanish essays and what Ms. Torres instructed them to write in their Spanish journals about their Spanish use and proficiency. This was useful to my study because it provided contextual information about each student's interests and their Spanish use outside of class. A future study could look more exclusively at the linguistic and rhetorical qualitites of students' writing in a dual immersion context.

Finally, I recorded interviews with three other teachers who mentioned to me several times that they would like to be interviewed. They expressed both acclaim and criticism for the school's fulfillment of its goals.

Data gathered from interviews has obvious limitations, so I sought to triangulate[45] my interview data with data gathered from other sources. The use of different qualitative methods (such as observations, interviews, journals, and questionnaires) translates into different "lenses" or perspectives through which to examine the issue being studied. In order to triangulate my findings, I compared student, parent, and teacher interview data, my observations, and students' comments contained within the corpus to try to present the most reliable interpretation of the setting.

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[45] *Triangulation* generally refers to "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or an interpretation" (Stake 1998:97) in order to lend credibility to the researcher's findings and interpretations.

3.4.2 The role of the researcher

Qualitative research places a high premium on researcher disclosure. Issues of researcher subjectivity, the role of the researcher in the setting, the "observer's paradox", and reciprocity with group members are all important in good ethnographic research.

One of my principal subjectivities was my interest in the children using and being exposed to Spanish, which caused me to view the use of English during Spanish lessons as negative and unfortunate. This viewpoint may have blinded me to other important aspects of the classroom and of students' interactions and learning. Additionally, being a female English L1 Anglo-American may have influenced my perceptions, the ways in which people interacted with me and in my presence, and the details they disclosed in interviews. Although I speak Spanish well enough to surprise many people when they learn that I did not grow up speaking it, the fact that many storekeepers and other strangers in Chicago shift to English from Spanish when addressing me suggests that my physical appearance does not immediately suggest a Latino background[46], which may have influenced the way people interacted with me (cf. McCollum 1994).

I did not present myself as Spanish monolingual to the students, and I used both languages when talking with them. During lessons taught in Spanish I used Spanish almost exclusively. Some students would address me in English but my Spanish response would typically cause them to shift to Spanish, although some would continue in English. Most other times, including in the cafeteria, on the playground, and in the hallway, I used English with students. It is undeniable that my presence and my language use with the children may have affected the language they used when I was within earshot and when they were being recorded. This is often referred to as the "observer's paradox": we want to find out how people behave when they are not being systematically observed, yet we can only obtain this data through systematic observation (Labov 1972:209). With the teacher I used only Spanish, both publicly and privately.

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[46] Although Zentella (1998) has suggested that a stranger's younger age may trigger English use by Spanish-speakers.

I was conscientious about maintaining an appropriate yet friendly role in the classroom. Sometimes I circulated to help students finish tasks, while other times I was a more detached observer. The students, who called me "Ms. Potosí," became accustomed to having me in class, in the gym, in the cafeteria, and on the playground. Some of them asked me for help with their classwork and occasionally chatted with me about their families and other events that were important to them. On tape recordings, they routinely went off-task, spoke English during Spanish time, and sometimes used "bad words", which lends confidence to my belief that they did not see me as an authority figure or someone for whom they had to perform in a certain way. I also compared taped classes to fieldnotes written during non-taped classes and found similar patterns of language use, except for occasional humorous comments directed to the tape recorder (such as "Calling all aliens!" and "Houston, we have a problem" – cf. Broner 2000).

I attempted to establish an ethical and reciprocal working relationship with the school and with the teacher. I did a portion of Ms. Torres' photocopying each week, staffed donation tables at school functions, designed Valentine's Day Dance tickets, and joined a letter writing campaign in support of the school's request for a new building. Perhaps most appreciated by the principal was the zip code map I created based on where all students lived, which proved useful in the school's busing and new building requests. After data collection was completed, I gave Ms. Torres a ten-volume Spanish encyclopedia set for her classroom and made a modest donation to the Parent Advisory Committee fund.

3.5 Variables

During participant-observation, I kept in mind the variables that had been studied by other research on classroom language use, including participant structure (Broner, Parker et al. 1995; Delgado-Larocco 1998), interlocutor (Broner 2000; Parker et al. 1995; Blanco Iglesias et al. 1995; Delgado-Larocco 1998), task (Broner, Parker et al. 1995), class (Broner 2000); gender (Willett 1995; Broner 2000), and L1

(Delgado-Larocco 1998), but I began to identify other variables that appeared significant. The nine final variables were: (1) *language;* (2) *class;* (3) *participant structure;* (4) *interlocutor;* (5) *topic;* (6) *selectedness;* (7) *mean length of turn*; and the two student variables (8) *gender* and (9) *L1*. I now describe each of the variables using coded turns from my data as examples.

Language

There are four main categories under the variable *language*: *Spanish, English, codeswitched*, and *null*. *Spanish* and *English* were the two most common categories and consist of turns that were 100% in Spanish or English. The least common was *null*, which included "non-language" bids to get the floor such as "Oh!" as well as turns that consisted of only a name like "Juan" or "Emily."

For the category *codeswitched*, I followed the framework of Myers-Scotton (1993). The two main subcategories are intersentential and intrasentential. Intersentential codeswitches consist of language changes at the sentence boundary, such as "Oh, yo sé. *I have it in my notes!.*" Intrasentential codeswitching occurs within a single sentence, such as in the turn, "Uh... como... son como... como una leyenda, dice de, del sol, *and how it was made and*, y cosas así.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993:77-78) there are two kinds of intrasentential codeswitches: (1) matrix language + embedded language (ML + EL) and (2) ML or EL islands. The matrix language is the language with more morphemes and is the expected, unmarked language for the specific interaction (Myers-Scotton 1993:6). The first type of intrasentential codeswitch, ML+EL, contains morphemes from both the matrix and the embedded language. The EL content morpheme is congruent with the morphosyntactic specifications of the ML and is typically a singly occurring EL lexeme (Myers-Scotton 1993:77). The majority of the codeswitched data in my study was like this, and most of the lexical items were commonly used school vocabulary ("I already did *almuerzo* and *pizarrón*"), words that the student may have not known in Spanish ("Tenemos que hacerlo así, porque es como un..un *filmstrip*"), proper nouns ("Ah, como Ace Ventura"), and items like "yeah," "wait,", or "I mean". Another common ML+EL codeswitch involved translations, such as "No, *heno* is "hay"."

The second type of intrasentential codeswitch is called an ML or an EL island. An island is a switched portion of language that conforms internally to the specifications of the language it is in. That is, an EL island conforms to EL specifications, and a ML island conforms to ML specifications. Singly occurring lexemes are excluded from this category (Myers-Scotton 1993:83). For an example we can return to the example, "Uh... como... um... como... son como... como una leyenda, dice de, del sol, *and how it was made and*, y cosas así." The English portion "and how it was made and" is an English island embedded in a Spanish ML.

One common kind of ML/EL island were restarts and translations. A restart was when a student started in English but self-corrected to Spanish and repeated part or all of the turn (although it is difficult to determine if there is a sentence break at the restart or not). An example of a restart is "Oh, can I, puedo ir?." Islands were also used to provide translations.

Example 1 illustrates problematic cases I encountered in determining the language of a turn.

(1)

[*Otto finished his drawing and now had to narrate a story on the back*]
1 Otto: Yo terminé.
2 Carlos: Tienes que escribir la historia.
3 Otto: Atrás, right?
4 Carlos: [*Nodded head*]

Since Otto's turn in line 3 contains only two words, it is difficult to determine if it is a *mix – English base*, or a *mix – Spanish base*. Since Otto's previous turn in line 1 was in Spanish, I assumed a Spanish base for line 3. In example 2, I assumed an English base for Carolina's turn in line 4, which also contains only two words:

(2)
[*Lázaro is trying to help Eleanor translate the word "background".*]
1 Lázaro to Eleanor: You'll have to get a dictionary.
2 Carolina: Why? What happened?
3 Lázaro: She don't know how to say background.
4 Carolina: Background...[2 sec] *antecedentes*.

Finally, I noted in the database whether a speaker used the language *opposite* to the one of the turn that had just been directed to him. A student's decision to resist the language of the conversation seemed relevant to the analysis of investment.

Mean Length of Turn

For this category, I counted the number of words in each turn. There was a problematic case when students repeated themselves, such as in examples 3 and 4:

(3)
Carolina: Y la muchacha... y la muchacha tuvo un bebé de maiz.

(4)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿De quién es este dibujo?
2 Carolina: Oh, ¡yo sé! ¡Yo sé!

I coded example 3 as *8 words long (repetition)*, disregarding the second "y la muchacha." Example 4 line 2 was a bid for the floor (which often contained repetitions) and I coded it as *2 words long (repetition)* based on the two words "yo sé[47]". Otherwise, the utterances would have appeared to be much longer, indicating more extended discourse. Although repetition does serve discourse functions, this study focused on language use, and the repetition of a constituent in the same language did not merit its being counted as separate language use.

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[47] I did not include "um"s and "oh"s in the word counts of turns, unless they were the sole word of a bid.

Class

This refers to whether the interaction took place during Spanish language arts, Spanish social studies, or a transition between classes. There are eleven Spanish language arts classes and five Spanish social studies classes in the corpus. The curricular units varied periodically. In Spanish language arts students read novels, analyzed poems, wrote stories, and occasionally did activities focused on verb endings and parts of speech. In social studies they used a textbook written in Spanish to study units such as the western movement of the early American pioneers; the Great Migration of African-Americans from the south to the north of the United States; the Aztec empire; and the immigration of Mexicans, Poles, and Chinese to Chicago.

Class transitions refer to turns taken by the students during the short periods before or after language arts or social studies classes had officially begun or ended, during which the teacher either talked about a non-school related topic or was busy doing something while the students were left to chat. These were not part of the original research design, but upon discovering that I had recorded a total of 25 minutes of such periods over four different days, I included them in the analysis[48].

Participant structure

As mentioned earlier, several researchers (Blanco-Iglesias et al.1995; Broner 2000; Willett 1995; Parker et al. 1995) found the participant structure of classrooms significant in explaining students' language use. The two main kinds of participant structure defined in the literature and used in my study are teacher-fronted and groupwork. During teacher-fronted activities the teacher is at the front of the room leading classroom discussion. Students are usually expected to bid to speak publicly (although in my study they often shouted out answers and comments without bidding or being selected) and are usually not supposed to chat with each other privately.

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[48] *Class transitions* are a class type and should not be confused with *activity transitions* which are participant structures. During class transitions, there is no official lesson; the teacher may be talking about a field trip, or students may be in limbo until she begins the next lesson. Activity transitions take place during an official class lesson; students are simply transitioning between teacher fronted instructions and task-related groupwork activity (participant structure is presented in Section 4.3).

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During groupwork, students are engaged in activities at their tables that either required or permitted them to talk to one another freely, although sometimes students are expected to work individually and silently. In this classroom, Ms. Torres verbally signaled the beginning and end of groupwork and sometimes interrupted groupwork in order to give students further instructions on an activity. Any turns taken during those interruptions were coded *teacher-fronted.* Finally, I identified a less common participant structure type, which I labeled *activity transition.* These consisted of the few minutes between official on-task curricular activities directed or assigned by the teacher. Groupwork and transition turns were ultimately combined for analysis because they involve student-centered deskwork activity as opposed to teacher-led events.

Given that lessons are fairly complex speech events, the exact boundaries between teacher fronted lessons, groupwork, and transitions were sometimes not concrete, but the distinctions were generally useful. However, as mentioned in the review of literature, more detail is needed to categorize students' turns. For example, during a teacher-fronted lesson, students often make quiet comments to each other much like the ones they make during groupwork. Therefore, I coded for another variable which I called *interlocutor.*

Interlocutor

For this variable I distinguished between two main categories: turns that had the teacher as an intended interlocutor (*teacher*) and those that did not (*peers*). The interlocutor was coded *teacher* when students answered questions aloud during teacher fronted lessons and coded *peer* when students directed turns to their classmates. These turns to classmates usually took place during groupwork but could also take place during teacher fronted lessons as students quietly made comments to one another.

During teacher fronted lessons, I used the volume of the turn to decide whether the student likely intended for the teacher to hear it. If the speech was picked up by the videocamera in the corner of the room, it was considered public and labeled "to teacher[49]." If a turn was picked up only by the tape recorder on the desk, it was labeled "to peers" (unless the student was actually talking to the teacher while she was near his group, in which case the turn was labeled "to teacher"). Although this criterion is not free from some degree of subjectivity, it was the most useful way to code the data.

Turns that had the teacher as an interlocutor were of two types: *public* and *nonpublic*. *Public* turns were loud enough for the entire class to hear. Turns coded *nonpublic to teacher* were directed to her in a more private manner, for example, during groupwork when the teacher approached a desk cluster. I felt that the public-nonpublic distinction was important, since public language use directed to the entire classroom seemed to indicate a more significant statement about students' decisions regarding whether to follow the language rule of the lesson.

Selectedness

As mentioned in the review of literature, no studies to date have examined how immersion students gain access to the floor during teacher fronted lessons. To examine this, I used the term *selectedness*: *selected* meant that the student bid to speak and was selected by the teacher. This selection could be *initial* or *continued*. *Unselected* meant that the student shouted out without being called on. Furthermore, *voluntary* meant that the student self-selected to speak. Very few turns were *involuntary*, when the teacher called on a student who had not bid for a turn. Therefore, there were six possible combinations of selectedness and interlocutor: unselected voluntary public, selected voluntary public – initial, selected voluntary public – continued, involuntary, nonpublic to teacher, and nonpublic to peers.

Unselected voluntary public (UVP) meant that the student voluntarily said something without being called on, loud enough for everyone in the class to hear. I excluded short answers that more than one student shouted out to a question posed by the teacher (choral answers). Since these were usually only one word long (such as "si" or "no") and usually represented one of very few possible responses, I did not feel they said much about students' language use.

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[49] Public turns directed to the teacher during teacher fronted lessons could also be heard by other peers.

Selected voluntary public (SVP) meant that the student bid for the floor and was selected by the teacher to speak[50]. I had to create two further categories: *SVP-initial* and *SVP-continued*. This is because a student can be selected to speak but be interrupted several times. Returning to example 1 (reproduced below), Matt's turn in line 4 was labeled *SVP-initial*. In lines 6 and 8, he was still "selected" (he theoretically still had the floor) so those two turns are labeled *SVP-continued*. I made this distinction because otherwise it would look like Matt had been selected all three times.

(5)

1 Ms. Torres: ¿De qué otros lados vienen las historias y los cuentos?
2 Matt: Oooh!
3 Ms. Torres: Matt.
4 Matt: De... cosas que existen y/
5 Ms. Torres: De cosas que existen pero ¿dónde?
6 Matt: ...y que no existen. Como/
7 Ms. Torres: De cosas que existen/
8 Matt: Uh... como... um... como... son como... como una leyenda, dice
9 de, del sol, and how it was made and, y cosas así.

In **involuntary public** utterances (IP), the student did not bid for the floor but was called on by the teacher.

Nonpublic turns (NP) were not loud enough for the entire class to hear. There were two kinds of NP turns: *NP to teacher* and *NP to peers*. I often based the public/non-public distinction on the volume of the turn. Nonpublic turns were only audible on the nearby audio recorder, not on the videotape. The video, being further away, seems a better judge of "publicness". However, the volume guideline was sometimes insufficient when the probable interlocutor was taken into account. For example, while the teacher was reading a story aloud to the class, Melissa commented, "No puedo ver." One might think that Melissa's turn was meant for the teacher and should be classified as UVP. However, it was so quiet that I do not think she really intended for the teacher to hear it, so I coded it NP. Examples 6 through 8 illustrate other decisions I had to make about coding turns for publicness:

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[50] I also compared successful bids with those that did not result in students' getting the floor.

(6)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué le faltaba? Algo que la muchacha no tenía.
2 Otto [*quietly*]: Comida.

Otto's turn was so quiet that I called it NP, even though it was an answer to the teacher's question.

(7)
1 Daniel: Ms. Torres, a mí no me queda papel.
2 Matt: Do it, like, up here.

Although Matt's turn was quite loud, it seemed directed to Daniel, so I coded it NP.

(8)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Ustedes creen que podía haber existido?
2 Melissa [*and others*]: Sí.
3 Ms. Torres: So yo pienso que sería más...
4 Melissa: Mito.
5 Ms. Torres: Leyenda.
6 Melissa [*quietly*]: Oh, leyenda.

In example 8, line 2 was not counted, since many students shouted out the one-word answer "Sí". Line 4 was UVP, since Melissa was the only person who shouted out an answer. Line 6 was quiet and therefore coded NP, but one cannot be sure who the intended interlocutor was: her tablemates, one specific person at her table, or maybe just herself. When I was not sure I could identify the intended interlocutor of a quiet turn, it was coded as simply NP. When it was apparent that an NP turn was intended for a given individual(s), I noted that in the database.

When students read something aloud (often as they were copying from the board or doing a piece of group writing), those turns were coded NP but further coded *read aloud*, otherwise it would appear to be rather lengthy discourse in Spanish. There were a few turns directed to the researcher or the two student teachers in the classroom at different points during the year that were eliminated from the corpus in order to limit the number of adult interlocutors.

In summary, the six categories under the variable interlocutor were *selected voluntary public-initial, selected voluntary public-continued, unselected voluntary public, involuntary public, non-public to teacher*, and *non-public to peers*. The first four are public and the last two are non-public. All were voluntary on the part of the student except for involuntary public.

I also did a cursory analysis of students' bidding patterns. Bidding refers to students' requests to take a public turn during teacher fronted lessons. It seemed that native Spanish speakers used different verbal strategies than the L2 students.

Topic

As seen in the literature review, the term *task* can refer to the nature of an activity (drawing a map, writing a story, solving a math problem) or to whether students are engaged in the official activity assigned by the teacher (that is, if they are *on task*) or talking about something unrelated (*off task*). While I did notice and will report on a few interesting trends regarding language use and the nature of the task, I was more concerned with the relationship between students' language use and whether they were on task or off task, that is, whether the topic was school-related or social in nature.

According to Cazden, "Any classroom contains two interpenetrating worlds: the official world of the teacher's agenda, and the unofficial world of the peer culture" (1992:150). We saw earlier that Tarone & Swain (1995) and Blanco-Iglesias et al. (1995) used the dichotomy "academic topics" versus "socializing". It may seem appropriate to equate *on task* with academic talk and *off task* with social talk, but in fact much of the language students use to regulate academically-oriented activity is similar to the social talk used in non-academic situations. While carrying out tasks, they say things like "You go first," "Let me see that", "Give me the red marker" and "En español por favor" which are not comments related to the academic task at hand but do serve to manage its completion. *Management* therefore was a category of topic included this study. Off task and management turns stand in contrast to *off task* comments, which are not related to the lesson in any way.

Broner (2000) and others recognize how difficult it is to decide if a student is on task or off task. The main criteria I used was whether the teacher would likely have approved of the utterance in the context in which it occurred. However, there were some ambiguous cases:

(9)
1 Ms. Torres: Cada uno de ustedes va a elegir una palabra y definirla.
2 Otto [*quietly, to Carlos*]: You know what I'm gonna do? "Turista."

Since private talk is not sanctioned during teacher fronted classes, Otto's turn in example 9 may be seen as off task. However, Otto is actually referring to the task they are being assigned (choosing a vocabulary word), so I coded his turn *on task*.

(10)
1 Ms. Torres: El cuento viene de San Luis Potosi.
2 Otto [*Turning to look at the researcher, whom the children call Miss Potosi*]: Potosi!
3 Ms. Torres: Otto, te voy a agradecer que pongas atención.

The fact that the teacher reprimanded Otto for his turn in example 10 indicates that she considered it an off task comment, even though it was related to the topic at hand. However, sometimes the teacher praised students for expressing such connections, making it difficult for me to define whether this comment was on task or off task. I created the category *unknown* for these few cases. Also coded as *unknown* were turns that followed inaudible turns, which prevented me from understanding the context and whether the turn was on task or off task. Additionally, during transitions between lessons or activities, there was no official academic task in which students were supposed to be engaged, so those turns were not coded for task. Similarly, if part of the turn was inaudible, I often could not code it for task. Unfortunately, there were some mostly or totally inaudible utterances that I could not include in the corpus.

As discussed in the review of literature, research has suggested that immersion classrooms exhibit traits of diglossia because students use their L2 only for academic purposes and never for socializing (Broner 2000; Parder et al. 1995; Tarone & Swain 1995). Broner (2000) showed that immersion students' slang was only in English. Other research has demonstrated that peer speech carries out a wider variety of functions than speech directed to the teacher (Liu 1994). Therefore, I compared the language that students used with the teacher to the language they used with their peers, as well as the students; peer Spanish to their peer English. I did not attempt a comprehensive discourse analysis, but sought to identify general categories of functions (such as joking, teasing, and slang) and expected there would be interesting differences based on interlocutor and topic.

Gender

There were two girls and two boys in this study.

L1

One boy and one girl were Spanish L1 and the other boy and girl were Spanish L2.

3.6 Data analysis

The tape recorded classroom language data was first analyzed quantitatively through a coding system in order to count turns and to identify patterns of language use. To explore issues of investment, I analyzed my fieldnotes, interview transcripts, one of the students' journal entries, and questionnaires and also re-analyzed the tape recorded classroom data from a qualitative perspective in order to identify how language use may have reflected students' investment in Spanish.

I sought to identify how often and under what circumstances the four students used Spanish and English during classes taught in Spanish. The tape recorded classroom language data were analyzed through a coding system in order to count turns and to identify patterns of language use. In order to provide a framework for discerning patterns of students' language use, I used the nine variables identified through my classroom observations, my literature review, and trends I noticed during early data analysis.

The main unit of analysis was the turn. As described in Chapter 2, a turn can be defined as when an interlocutor stops talking and thus enables another interlocutor to initiate a turn, or when the interlocutor is interrupted by another who initiates another turn (Levinson 1983; Ellis 1994). In example 11, each numbered line represents a separate turn. Matt was assigned a total of four turns in this exchange. I am using the abbreviations and conventions outlined in Appendix F adapted from Hatch (1992).

(11)

1 Ms. Torres: ¿De qué otros lados vienen las historias y los cuentos?
2 Matt: Oooh!
3 Ms. Torres: Matt.
4 Matt: De... cosas que existen y/
5 Ms. Torres: De cosas que existen pero ¿dónde?
6 Matt: ...y que no existen. Como/
7 Ms. Torres: De cosas que existen/
8 Matt: Uh... como... um... como... son como... como una leyenda, dice
9 de, del sol, and how it was made and, y cosas así.

Each of the 2,203 transcribed turns was coded for the nine variables using Microsoft Access. In addition to organizing data, this database program allowed me to perform frequency queries, which in my case were requests for all instances of utterances that met certain requirements. For example, I could query for all of Melissa's utterances on a certain date that were on-task public uses of Spanish, or all of Matt's English utterances from the entire corpus.

During the course of fieldwork and subsequent data analysis, qualitative researchers often come up with new insights and worthy avenues of inquiry by asking questions about what they are observing. That is, qualitative data analysis involves an ongoing interaction between the research questions and the data. Once data collection is finished, researchers sort through it for regularities and patterns. This process is often referred to as coding, and unlike the quantitative coding procedures just described in which I assigned values to the students' turns based on predetermined categories, qualitative data coding involved searching through the data for regularities, patterns, and topics as a means of teasing out relevant themes (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:166), which in my study were to be related to how students' investment (Norton Peirce 1995; McKay & Wong 1996) in different facets of their identity motivated or inhibited their classroom Spanish use.

The data that were coded qualitatively included transcribed interviews with the teacher, parents and the students; fieldnotes taken during participant observations in the classroom and other school spaces; student and teacher questionnaires, and transcriptions of the fifteen recorded lessons in the classroom data corpus. In chapter 4, I present excerpts of classroom interactions that illuminate issues of students' investment, such as exchanges in which they clearly expressed engagement (or lack of it) in the lesson or appeared to be asserting a particular facet of their identity.

3.7 Summary of data collection and analysis procedures

To date, no detailed studies of students' language use have been carried out in a dual immersion setting. Using both audio and video recordings, I gathered twelve and a half hours of classroom data from four students, spread out over six months and sixteen classroom periods. I used a database program to code and count the number of student turns according to language (Spanish, English, or mixed), participant structure (teacher-fronted, groupwork or transition), interlocutor (teacher or peer, public or non-public), selectedness (selected or unselected, voluntary or involuntary), topic (on task, off task, or management), class (language arts, social studies or transitions), mean length of turn, gender, and L1. I also examined at students bids (attempts to get the floor) and the functions of their on task and off task turns.

In addition to illuminating trends in students' language use through these nine variables, my study sought to understand the "why" behind their use. I re-examined the coded data from a qualitative perspective, searching for exchanges that seemed to illustrate students' investments (Norton Peirce 1995) that promoted or hindered their Spanish use in the classroom.

CHAPTER FOUR
QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

The research question asked in chapter two was:

What are the patterns of language use in a dual immersion classroom, and what factors help explain these patterns?

In order to answer this question, I examined sixteen Spanish lessons totaling twelve and a half hours of data. There were 6½ to 8 ½ hours of recorded classroom data for each of the four students and a total of 2,203 turns transcribed and coded. I coded each student's recorded turns using the nine variables described in Chapter 3: the seven classroom variables (1) *language;* (2) *class;* (3) *participant structure;* (4) *interlocutor;* (5) *topic,* 6) *selectedness;* and *7) mean length of turn;* and the two student variables (8) *gender* and (9) *L1.* I calculated the frequency of students' Spanish and English use across these nine variables. The principal framework used to help interpret these results was *investment* (Norton 2000; McKay & Wong 1996).

4.1 Language

Table 1 presents the overall language use of the four students during the 12 and a half hours of classroom recordings. All of the recorded classes were carried out in Spanish, which was the expected language of interaction.

Table 1, Overall language of all turns

	Monolingual	Lexeme from other language	Total
Spanish	1,059 (48%)	82 (4%)	1,141 (52%)
English	878 (40%)	31 (1%)	909 (41%)
Mixed	n/a	n/a	112 (5%)
Null	n/a	n/a	41 (2%)
Total	1,937	113	100% N=2,203

4.1.1 Spanish and English

Of the 2,203 turns transcribed and coded for the four students, 48% were totally in Spanish and 40% were totally in English. I then added the 113 turns that had only one lexeme in the other language, which Myers-Scotton (1993) calls "matrix language plus embedded language lexeme," or ML+EL lexeme. I counted these ML+EL lexeme turns along with the 100% English only and 100% Spanish only turns because the lexical item in the other language typically appeared to fill one of the following functions: substitute for what appeared to be a word that the student did not know, refer to "school vocabulary", act as a discourse marker, or provide translations or rhymes (see Table 2). Examples of each type follow.

Table 2, ML + EL lexeme turns (N=113)

Unknown Spanish word	School vocabulary	Discourse markers	Translations/rhymes	Other
35% (39)	19% (22)	17% (19)	12% (13)	18% (20)

The most frequent context of single lexeme borrowings (35%) involved a Spanish base with an English lexeme filling in for a word that the student seemed not to know in Spanish, such as in examples 12 through 15:

(12) Creo que era una historia de f..*fiction*. [Spanish L1 boy]
(13) Sí, está *wrestling* con un cocodrilo. [Spanish L1 girl]
(14) Los, um, *characters*. [Spanish L2 boy]
(15) Cuando los franceses, um, vinieron a, a, a, a México y, um, lo tra, como tenían un, una guerra, y, y um, los mexicanos no tenían muchos, um, *weapons*. [Spanish L2 girl]

The next most frequent context of single lexeme borrowings (19%) involved what I labeled "school vocabulary" which were words that, according to my observations, were used routinely in one specific language (either Spanish or English) to refer to school related topics, as seen in examples 16 through 19:

English lexeme:

(16)
1 Teacher: ¿De quién han estado ustedes leyendo?
2 De los *Mississippians* [Spanish L1 boy]

(17) Andrea comio su *bookmark* [Spanish L1 boy]

Spanish lexeme:

(18) *[Students were volunteering to do classroom jobs, the names of which were always discussed in Spanish]*

I was never, the, um, I was just the lunch person. And the *pizarron*. [Spanish L2 boy]

(19) I got two *canicas*[51]! Yay, I got two *canicas*! [Spanish L1 girl]

In 17% of the ML + EL lexeme turns, the English lexeme was a discourse expression such as "yeah," "like", "wait", or "right," such as in examples 20 through 23:

(20) *Yeah*, la guerra paró CUANDO firmaron el contrato. [Spanish L1 boy]
(21) Esto es una persona, *like*, como los ciliviza...la civilization en el Dorado. [Spanish L1 boy]
(22) Como en... en la... *wait*. Oh, rojo como un corazón. [Spanish L1 girl]
(23) Es un televis...televisor es *television, right*? [Spanish L2 girl]

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[51] Ms. Torres gave students *canicas* (marbles) as prizes and took them away for English use. Their use as a Spanish language reinforcement tool will be discussed in section 4.12.

In 12% of ML + EL turns, the embedded lexeme was a request for a translation or a response to such a request, as in examples 24 through 26, or a response to a request for a word that rhymed with another, as in example 27[52]:

English lexeme:

(24) ¿Cómo se dice *man* en español? [Spanish L2 boy]

(25)
1 Eleanor: ¿Qué es doliera?
2 Carolina: Doliera, a él le doliera. Es como *hurt*. [Spanish L1 girl]

Spanish lexeme:

(26)
1 Lázaro: What's *saborear*?
2 Carolina: ¿*Saborear*? Taste. [Spanish L1 girl]1

(27)
1 Eleanor: What rhymes with *educación*?
2 Carolina: Hold on, I have that word... *migración*. [Spanish L1 girl]

An example of the 18% of ML + EL lexeme turns coded "other" is presented in example 28:

(28) *[Matt was reading aloud a form the students were asked to fill in. This was not a regular classroom activity]*

Matt: "Escuela". I don't go to school. [Spanish L1 boy]

Since these 113 ML + EL lexeme turns appear closer in nature to monolingual turns than they do to codeswitched turns, they were added to the totals of monolingual turns.

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[52] Turns of this nature have been excluded from other studies of codeswitching (Poplack 1982), indicating that they are not in fact codeswitches, which supports my decision not to exclude them along with the inter and intrasentential codeswitched data described in section 4.1.2.

4.1.2 Mixed

As described in Chapter 2, I used Myers-Scotton's (1993) distinctions to differentiate three different types of codeswitching: 1) matrix language base + embedded language *lexeme* (ML+EL); 2) matrix language base + embedded language *island*; and 3) intersentential codeswitching. As noted in Section 4.1.1, I added ML + EL lexeme turns to turns that were 100% in Spanish or English, so they are not included here. In this section, I discuss *ML + EL islands* and *intersentential* code switches.

A total of 112 turns (5% of the total corpus) had either ML+EL islands or intersentential code switches. Tables 3 and 4 describe these 112 mixed language turns. Table 3 describes the 46 turns with EL islands.

Table 3, Turns with EL islands (N=46)

Spanish base + English island	English base + Spanish island
76% (35)	24% (11)

Table 3 shows that the turns with islands more often had a Spanish base with an English island (76%) than an English base with a Spanish island (24%). The 35 turns with Spanish base + English islands often represented turns in which the student started the turn in Spanish but rendered a portion in English that was larger than a single lexeme and that was internally analyzable (but was not a separate sentence), as in examples 29 thorough 34:

(29) Como una leyenda, dice de, del sol, *and how it was made and*, y cosas así. [Spanish L1 boy]
(30) Yo te lo dejé acá, *and then I dropped it somewhere*. [Spanish L1 boy]
(31) Cada vez que un dios moría, o un rey, lo enterraron. Y después *he um, they kind of like shoot him up in the air*. [Spanish L1 girl]
(32) Yo sé una persona que puede hacer esto, *but all the way up*. [Spanish L2 boy]
(33) Es como una guerra, pero es que como, um, estaban, um, como se dice, *like fighting each other*. [Spanish L2 girl]
(34) Pero si usted, um, si usted lo está dibujando, *you can't, like, taste it*. [Spanish L1 girl]

In four cases (examples 35 through 38), the sentence had begun with an English island, but the student quickly shifted to Spanish[53]:

(35) *I got* zero por ciento en todo. [Spanish L2 boy]
(36) *Or DC* otra vez. [Spanish L2 boy]
(37) *They put, the*, um, casa arriba del montículo. [Spanish L2 boy]
(38) *Cause, see*, en el norte estaban... [Spanish L1 girl]

The 11 turns with English base + Spanish island were mostly cases in which students were speaking English but then read a portion of Spanish text aloud (which was labeled the island), as in examples 39 through 41:

(39) [*Carolina is reading Eleanor's poem and commenting on its inaccuracies*]
'Cause it says, like, '*Con la inmigración se vamos a escapar*'. Wouldn't it be like... [Spanish L1 girl]

(40) [*Students are discussing the answers to questions they have to write in Spanish*]
1 Ashley: What's *primeros*?
2 Otto: '*En la primera*' was one. [Spanish L2 boy]

(41) *[Melissa is reading aloud the questions they are supposed to answer]*
'*Como tenia*'... are you on this one? [Spanish L1 girl]

Table 4 shows the 66 turns that contained intersentential codeswitches. These 66 turns contained 150 individual sentences[54], which are broken down by language.

Table 4, Sentences within intersententially codeswitched turns (N=150 sentences within 66 turns)

Spanish/Spanish base + English lexeme	English/English base + Spanish lexeme	Spanish base + English island	English base + Spanish island
49% (74)	47% (71)	2% (2)	2% (3)

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[53] Given that the turns immediately before and after these turns were in Spanish, Spanish was determined to be the matrix language. Although this is not an infallible criteria, analyzing the small corpus of mixed language turns was not the focus of this study.

[54] Some turns with intersentential codeswitches contained more than one sentence.

Table 4 shows that of the 150 sentences within the 66 intersententially codeswitched turns, 51% had a Spanish base (49% + 2%) and 49% had an English base (47% + 2%), which is a fairly equal distribution of Spanish and English. 74 of those sentences were 100% in English and 74 were in 100% in Spanish or contained one English lexeme. 3 were English base + Spanish island, and two were Spanish base + English islands. The most common type of intersentential code switching, presented in examples 42 through 46, involved a student saying something in English but then repeating the content in Spanish, as if catching themselves and "restarting" the turn in order to conform to the language expectations of the teacher[55]:

(42) Yo no estaba allí. *If I was*, si no está allí se me olvida. [Spanish L1 boy]
(43) *Is there a ri*... ¿hay un río en la película? [Spanish L1 girl]
(44) *We're readin' that one*. Estás leyendo esto. [Spanish L2 boy]
(45) *Yaay, I did it!* ¡Yo hice de tribus! [Spanish L1 girl]
(46) *You read first. You read.* ¿Quiere leer primero? [Spanish L2 boy]

Other intersentential code switches did not contain restarts, such as in examples 47 through 50:

(47) Here, don't you remember yesterday when we were reading? *Los Olmecas están en, um*... [Spanish L2 girl]
(48) No, no me lo olvidó. *I had to go to soccer practice.* [Spanish L1 girl]
(49) La tienda mexicana. *A supermall.* [Spanish L2 boy]
(50) Mi hermana le gusta ir en avión. Yo tengo miedo de los aviones porque ella siempre.... *She looks out the window every five seconds.* [Spanish L1 boy]

Since these turns were almost evenly split between Spanish and English and they only constituted 5% of the data, I did not analyze them in more depth as they pertained to students' overall language use or include them in the corpus (cf. Broner 2000).

There is little research with which to compare this mixed language data. The only study of an immersion classroom that mentions mixed language sentences is Broner (2000). Counting utterances with at least one EL lexeme as *mixed*, she reported that less than 2% of the output of her three focal students was mixed. I cannot compare this to the data I have labeled *mixed* for two reasons: 1) I counted turns containing an EL lexeme with those that were monolingual, and 2) my mixed data includes intersentential code switches. Although Broner (2000) does have examples of intersentential code switches within a single turn, her unit of analysis was the utterance, which allowed her to code each portion individually. In examples 51 and 52, Broner (2000:111) coded "You can do this" and "Yeah, do it" as English utterances while "Puedes hacer este en un cuento también" and "Obra de teatro y pones todo narrador" were coded as Spanish utterances:

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[55] It was difficult to determine with certainty when a restart in fact constituted a new sentence/turn.

(51) You can do this. Puedes hacer este en un cuento también.
(52) Yeah, do it. Obra de teatro y pones todo narrador. [Broner 2000]

In my data, the turns in examples 51 and 52 would have been coded as turns with intersentential code switches. The advantage to my method is that I could see these switches at the larger unit of the turn, and since I did code for the language of each sentence, I did not lose any detail on the volume of actual language production. My decision not to include mixed turns in the analysis did not affect overall language totals.

4.1.3 Null

A total of 41 turns (2% of the corpus) were coded null for language. They consisted of a student's attempt to get the floor by shouting "Ms. Torres!" or "Ooh!," the use of a classmate's name, or some other utterance whose language was not easily determinable, such as in examples 53 and 54:

(53)
1 Adam: El presidente era James Polk.
2 Matt: Polka. *[Laughter]* [Spanish L1 boy]

(54)
1 Ms. Torres: Dice *preguntas*, no dice *una pregunta*. So traten de hacer dos o tres preguntas.
2 Matt: Oops! *[Laughter]* [Spanish L1 boy]

Subtracting these 153 mixed and null turns from the corpus left 2,050 Spanish and English turns, of which 1,141 (56%) were in Spanish and 44% (909) were in English, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5, Overall language use (N=2,050)

Spanish	English
56% (1,141)	44% (909)

4.1.4 Summary and comparisons with other findings

Students used Spanish 12% more often than English during the Spanish classes that I recorded. The finding that more Spanish was used overall is similar to Broner (2000), whose students produced 28% more Spanish than English (63% Spanish vs. 35% English). However, as mentioned earlier, Broner's unit of analysis was the "utterance," defined as a stretch of language bounded by pauses, under one single intonation contour, and generally a single semantic unit (2000:95). I worked with turns, which at times contained more than one utterance. In order to compare my data to hers, I counted 2,347 utterances within the 2,050 monolingual and the 113 intersententially codeswitched turns in my corpus[56] and then tallied them by language (Table 6).

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[56] Although I deleted the 66 intersententially codeswitched turns from my corpus, I have included them here for the purposes of comparison because, as shown in examples 57 and 58, Broner (2000) counted the sentences within intersentential codeswitches as turns.

Table 6, Number of utterances

	Spanish L1		Spanish L2		TOTAL
N=2,347[57]	**Carolina** N=684	**Matt** N=577	**Melissa** N=437	**Otto** N=649	
Spanish	66% (453)	47% (274)	62% (269)	47% (304)	55% (1,300/2,347)
English	34% (231)	53% (303)	38% (168)	53% (345)	45% (1,047/2,347)

Using the criteria of utterances actually reduced the amount of Spanish used by the four students by 1% (cf. Table 5). That is, the turns that contained within them more than one Spanish utterance were slightly fewer than the turns that contained more than one English utterance.

It was surprising that despite the presence of native Spanish-speaking students, Spanish was used slightly *less* often in this dual immersion classroom than in Broner's (2000) immersion classroom. It may be that the students in her study felt more pressure to use Spanish due to stricter rule enforcement by the teacher. Since neither she nor I systematically studied language rule enforcement, this remains speculative. It may also be that bilingual Latino students, in an attempt to conform to mainstream society's language expectations, assert their English competence by using it as often as possible, even within a dual immersion context that seeks to promote Spanish use. Additionally, in section 4.10 I will explore the identities that each of the four children seemed to be promoting and suggest how they may have contributed to their classroom language use.

My findings contrast with Parker et al. (1995), McCollum (1994) and Christian (1996a:37). Parker et al. (1995) did not report an overall percentage of language use, but by adding their findings for the 51 tokens, I calculated that students used 42% Spanish and 57% English, which was less Spanish and more English than in my study. Christian (1996a:37) and McCollum (1994) noted a preference for English in the dual immersion classrooms they observed, while my data show 12% overall more Spanish turns. However, as will be seen ahead, peer turns and off task turns in my study were indeed mostly in English.

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[57] This total is greater than the 2,050 reported in Table 5 because it includes all utterances contained within each of the 2,050 turns as well as all utterances within the 150 intersententially codeswitched turns (see note 43).

4.1.5 Language by student and gender

Table 7 shows the language of all turns made by each student.

Table 7, Language by student

	Spanish L1		Spanish L2		
N=2,050	**Carolina** N=590	**Matt** N=527	**Melissa** N=340	**Otto** N=593	**Total**
Spanish	67% (393)	47% (248)	64% (219)	47% (281)	100% (1,141)
English	33% (197)	53% (279)	36% (121)	53% (312)	100% (909)
Total	100% (590)	100% (527)	100% (340)	100% (593)	100% (2,050)

Of the four students, Otto and Carolina were the most participatory, followed closely by Matt. Melissa was the least participatory overall, producing only 340 turns, which was just two thirds as many as the other three students (who averaged 570 turns). Although Melissa made fewer turns in either language than the other three students, her percentage of Spanish turns was almost as high as Carolina's (who is a native speaker). Matt and Otto each rendered 47% of their turns in Spanish and 53% in English.

Tables 8 and 9 present these results by gender.

Table 8, Language by gender

	Girls N=930	**Boys** N=1,120
Spanish	612 (66%)	529 (47%)
Percent of Spanish corpus (N=1,141)	54%	46%
English	318 (34%)	591 (53%)
Percent of English corpus (N=909)	35%	65%
Total	100% (930)	100% (1,120)

Table 9, Language by gender (averages)

	Spanish	English	Total
Average of % girls' turns	65.5% (67% + 64%/2)	34.5% (33%+36%/2)	100%
Average of % boys' turns	47.0% (47%+47%/2)	53.0% (53%+53%/2)	100%

As shown in Table 8, the boys actually accounted for 46% of the Spanish data in the corpus while the girls accounted for 54%, but Table 9 shows that each girl rendered a higher percentage of her turns in Spanish (65.5%, versus the boys' 47%). That is, the girls averaged 18.5% more Spanish than the boys, regardless of L1.

Discussion

Gender appeared to correlate with students' classroom language use (Tables 8 and 9), with the girls using Spanish 18.5% more often than the boys. The two girls were approximately equal in their overall language use totals (approximately 65% for Spanish, 35% for English) as were the boys (47% for Spanish and 53% for English). Broner (2000) has been the only immersion researcher to mention gender, but did not make a correlation between gender and language use. Of her three students, a boy and girl were very similar to each other in their language use; it was the boy "Marvin" who was different from the other two in his greater use of Spanish. No conclusion could be drawn from her data.

Despite the clear gender pattern in our data, there were six girls in the classroom that resisted using Spanish (two Spanish L1 and four Spanish L2) and three boys (one L1 and two L2) who seemed to enjoy using Spanish and rarely used English publicly during Spanish lessons. Gender-based explanations of language use must therefore be corroborated by looking closely at each student's language production, which is permitted by a case study methodology.

In the present study, it is interesting that Melissa, an L2 Spanish speaker, used more Spanish than Matt, an L1 Spanish speaker. It will be suggested in section 4.10 that Melissa has a considerable investment in an identity as a Spanish-speaker, while Matt's home language use and somewhat rebellious classroom behavior seem to reflect more ambivalence towards Spanish. Overall, the finding that individual students displayed such wide variation in language highlights how case studies are very useful in illuminating data that is often overlooked when compiling group data.

The finding that the girls chose Spanish more frequently than the boys to some extent echoes Willett (1995), in which the three ESL girls constructed classroom identities as successful students while the one ESL boy, due to his use of behaviors considered acceptable by other boys, was positioned as a problematic learner. It may be that the girls in my study were more willing to conform to the language expectations of the teacher. Perhaps a desirable identity for a girl involved following the rules and avoiding getting in trouble, while the boys preferred to pursue identities as somewhat rebellious. The following short summaries (which will be expanded in Section 4.10) are based on my classroom observations and on interviews with the students, their parents, and the teacher. While these interpretations are not strictly gender-based, children of the same gender do appear to coincide in their interest in following or flaunting the classroom rules and in cultivating or rejecting identities as Spanish speakers.

Carolina, whose first language was Spanish, expressed pride in her ability to speak it. She spoke only Spanish with her maternal grandparents every day and also used it with her parents and younger sister. She showed interest in being perceived as a good student and in relating well to the teacher, which speaking Spanish could help her achieve[58]. Melissa's first language was English, but she received consistent encouragement and praise for her Spanish from her parents and from a Mexican uncle. She was proud of her ability to speak it, which combined with her highly serious academic focus and desire to follow the rules may have been why she chose to speak it so often in the classroom. These two girls' classroom Spanish use may have been due in part to their feeling comfortable with their oral proficiency level and to their interest in following the classroom language rules, both for their own pleasure and to please the teacher. They also had personal reasons for investing in identities as Spanish speakers.

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[58] Although it did not seem necessary to speak Spanish well in order to be considered a good student in this classroom.

Although Matt's first language was Spanish and he spoke it daily with his monolingual grandparents, he resisted speaking Spanish with his mother, and his stepfather did not know the language. He was one of the top academic achievers in the class but in conversations with friends he was beginning to express resistance to scholastic activities. Spanish may have represented to him the language related to academic activities, which might cause him to avoid using it. Otto, who spoke only English at home, did not have support for his Spanish development outside of school. He was bright and greatly enjoyed school, but did not seem to have much internal or external motivation to speak or develop his Spanish. Also, his lower Spanish proficiency may have made him less willing to use it publicly and risk being perceived as incompetent. The two boys seemed less interested in constructing or presenting identities of themselves as Spanish speakers than did the girls.

However, there were six girls in the classroom (two L1 and four L2) that resisted using Spanish, and there were three boys (two L1 and one L2) who seemed to enjoy using Spanish and rarely used English publicly during Spanish time. Therefore, gender explanations of language use must be tempered by an examination of individual students' language use. The present examination suggests that interest in being perceived as a good student and receiving praise in the home for Spanish proficiency contributed to these four students' language use, which will be further explored in chapter 5.

4.2 Class

The three classes used in recordings were Spanish language arts, Spanish social studies, and class transitions[59]. *Class transitions* refer to turns taken by the students during the short periods before or after language arts or social studies classes had officially begun or ended, during which the teacher either talked about a non-school related topic or was busy doing something while the students were left to chat. These were not part of the original research design, but upon discovering that I had recorded a total of 25 minutes of such periods over four different days, I included them in the analysis. Students' language use patterns during these classes are shown in Table 9.

Table 9, Language by class

	Language arts	**Social studies**	**Transitions**	**Total**
Hours of data	8 hrs 46 min	3 hrs 25 min	25 min	12 hrs 35 min
Total # of turns (N=2,050)	1,255	622	173	2,050
Spanish	56% (703)	63% (394)	25% (43)	56% (1,141)
English	44% (552)	37% (228)	75% (130)	44% (909)

During Spanish language arts, Spanish was used 12% more often than English: 56% of turns were in Spanish and 44% in English. In Spanish social studies, Spanish was used 26% more often than English: 63% of all turns were in Spanish, while 37% were in English. One reason that these students produced 7% more Spanish during social studies may be related to participant structure (section 4.3) and interlocutor (section 4.4). As will be shown (in Table 14), social studies classes were 14% more often teacher fronted than were language arts classes, and teacher fronted lessons tended to result in more student Spanish use because the teacher was an interlocutor more frequently during teacher fronted lessons (sections 4.3 and

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[59] *Class transitions* are a class type and should not be confused with *transition* as a participant structure (to be presented in Section 4.3) which take place during an official class lesson, but students are transitioning between teacher fronted instructions and task-related groupwork activity.

4.4). Therefore, it may be that since students directed more of their comments to the teacher during social studies than during language arts, they used slightly more Spanish.

During transitions between classes, English was used 75% of the time, and Spanish only 25%. This may be because during transitions, since there was no official school-related topic or assigned task, the teacher did not tend to enforce language rules very strictly. Broner also found that during transition periods of no academic content, students produced the greatest percent of their speech (83%) in English (2000:138). Students may have felt freer to use the language in which they were most comfortable during these times.

4.2.1 Class by student

Individual students' language use during the different class types are presented in Table 10 and averaged by gender in Table 11.

Table 10, Class by student

N=2,050	**Language arts**			**Social studies**			**Transitions**			**Total**
	Span	Eng	Total	Span	Eng	Total	Span	Eng	Total	
Carolina, L1	65% (249)	35% (133)	100% (383)	71% (130)	29% (54)	100% (184)	57% (13)	43% (10)	100% (23)	100% (590)
Matt, L1	44% (152)	56% (197)	100% (349)	69% (90)	31% (41)	100% (131)	13% (6)	87% (41)	100% (47)	100% (527)
Melissa, L2	69% (132)	31% (57)	100% (190)	73% (80)	27% (29)	100% (109)	17% (7)	83% (34)	100% (41)	100% (xyz)
Otto, L2	51% (170)	49% (164)	100% (334)	47% (94)	53% (103)	10% (197)	27% (17)	73% (45)	100% (62)	100% (xyz)
Total	100% (703)	100% (551)	100% (1,255)	100% (394)	100% (228)	100% (622)	100% (43)	130	173	100% (2,050)

Table 11, Class by gender (averages of the percentages reported in Table 10)

	Language arts			Social studies		
	Spanish	English	Total	Spanish	English	Total
Girls	67%	33%	100%	72%	28%	100%
Boys	48%	52%	100%	58%	42%	100%

During language arts the girls used Spanish an average of 67% of the time, which was 19% more often than the boys (who averaged 48%). This correlation of Spanish use with gender during language arts is similar to the overall language use findings reported in Section 4.1.5. However, during social studies all students used Spanish 69% or more (averaging 71%) except Otto, who used Spanish only 47% (actually a decline of 4% from language arts). Matt's Spanish use jumped from 44% in language arts to 69% in language arts, while the girls' Spanish use increased more moderately (67% to 72%). Two factors may explain the three students' greater Spanish use during social studies: participant structure and interlocutor.

As will be shown at the end of section 4.2, social studies lessons were 14% more often teacher fronted than were language arts lessons, and students directed more of their speech to the teacher during teacher fronted lessons than they did during groupwork. As will be shown in section 4.4, all four students used more Spanish when the teacher was an interlocutor than when she was not. This may explain why Carolina, Matt, and Melissa used more Spanish during social studies than during language arts: they directed turns to the teacher more often.

Matt and Otto's language use by class are notable. Matt, who used only 44% Spanish during language arts, jumped to 69% Spanish production in social studies (when most student turns were directed to the teacher). It will be suggested in section 4.10 that although Matt preferred English to Spanish, his concern with maintaining favorable status with the teacher prompted him to use Spanish with her enough to avoid getting in trouble. Otto used considerably more *English* during social studies than the other three students, and his overall language production was approximately 50% Spanish and 50% English when examined for both class and participant structure. The fact that Otto used more English during teacher fronted lessons (and, hence, with the teacher) suggests that he was less able and/or less willing to conform to the teacher's language use expectations. His lower oral Spanish proficiency (mentioned in chapter 3) and his investments relative to language use will be explored in chapter 5.

During transitions, Matt, Melissa and Otto used English an average of 80% of the time. This is not surprising, given that transitions involved no academic content or language rules. Even Melissa relaxed her tight adherence to Spanish when it was not expected of her. Carolina, however, used Spanish 57% of the time during transitions between classes (although it should be noted that Carolina made only half as many transition turns as the other three students). This is most likely related to interlocutor: 52% of Carolina's transition turns were directed to the teacher. She seemed to prefer speaking Spanish with the teacher when chatting informally, as I observed her do on many occasions. Otto, at 27% Spanish use during transitions, used slightly more Spanish than did Melissa and Matt, and again the explanation may lie in the fact that he directed 55% of his transition turns to the teacher. Matt and Melissa directed fewer of their transition turns to the teacher: Matt 34% and Melissa 32%.

The only other immersion study to date that has compared language use during different class types is Broner (2000). She examined nine different types of content material, including creative writing, arts and crafts, math, science, reading, social studies, transitions ("no content") and "other"[60] and suggested that students used the most Spanish (between 77% and 100%) during creative writing because they "needed the L2 to actually carry out the task (e.g. to write a narrative in the L2)" (Broner 2000:138). "Creative writing" is most likely not the same as the "language arts" classes I observed, because during language arts students also read, completed vocabulary exercises, and occasionally focused on grammar and spelling, making it impossible to compare my class data to Broner's (2000). So few turns were produced during social studies in Broner's study (and they did not prove to be significant) that she did not analyze or comment them.

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[60] It was not reported how much of her 9 hours 10 minutes of data consisted of each class type.

4.3 Participant structure

As described in chapter 3, the two participant structures examined in this study were *teacher fronted* and *groupwork/transitions*. Groupwork and transitions were placed together because they involved time during which the teacher was not leading the class and holding the floor. However, students were not engaged in groupwork either, which necessitated this third category. The ways in which participant structure correlated with students' language use are displayed in Table 12.

Table 12, Participant structure

	Spanish	English	Total
Teacher fronted 7 hrs 38 mins	67% (751)	33% (372)	100% (1,123)
Groupwork & transitions 4 hrs 58 mins	42% (390)	58% (537)	100% (927)
Total 12 hrs 36 mins	100% (1,141)	100% (909)	100% (2,050)

There was more teacher fronted data (seven hours and 38 minutes) than groupwork and transitions (four hours 58 minutes). Teacher fronted lessons resulted in a higher percentage of Spanish (67%) than did groupwork and transitions (42%), where English was preferred. Students may have used more Spanish during teacher fronted lessons because (as will be presented in section 4.4) more of their turns during these lessons were publicly directed to the teacher. Additionally, any quiet turns students made to their peers during teacher fronted lessons had a greater chance of being heard by the teacher, who as the authority figure could discipline students for using English[61]. During groupwork and transitions, students may have felt freer to use English because the teacher was less likely to hear and reprimand them for not using Spanish.

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[61] In section 4.9 I will describe the ways in which the teacher disciplined students for using English during Spanish lessons.

My finding that 67% of teacher fronted turns were in Spanish is slightly less than Parker et al.'s (1995) 78%[62] Spanish during teacher fronted lessons. This may be because Parker et al. (1995) had only 18 teacher fronted turns in the corpus, a small enough number for students to stick to Spanish, while my corpus contained 1,123 teacher fronted turns. Parker et al (1995) found 24% (N=33) Spanish use during groupwork, while I found 42% (N=927). The four students in my study used more Spanish during groupwork, perhaps due to the presence of native Spanish speakers in the dual immersion classroom (although Section 4.1.5 showed that having Spanish as an L1 did not always correlate with greater Spanish use, specifically for Matt).

Broner (2000:128) found students' language use during teacher fronted lessons[63] was 71% (N=1,098 utterances), which is slightly greater than my students' 67% Spanish (N=1,123 turns) during teacher fronted lessons. During groupwork, her students used Spanish 65% (N=2,850) while mine used Spanish only 42% (N=927). It should be pointed out that Broner's focal student "Marvin", who used Spanish 87% of the time during groupwork, considerably raised the students' groupwork Spanish average; the other two students used Spanish between 52% and 54% of the time during groupwork, which is only slightly more than the groupwork Spanish of the students in my study.

Therefore, my results are similar to Parker at al. (1995) and Broner (2000) in that students used more Spanish during teacher fronted lessons than during groupwork. However, I found slightly less teacher fronted Spanish than Parker et al (1995) and Broner (2000) but I found more groupwork Spanish than Parker et al. (1995) but less than Broner (2000). The comparability of these studies is weakened by the different units of analysis (adjacency pairs in Parker et al. 1995, utterances in Broner 2000, and turns in our study). Moreover, it will be shown (in section 4.4) that interlocutor seemed to correlate more with language use than did participant structure.

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[62] To arrive at these figures, I combined Parker et al.'s (1995) two categories "social and task oriented" and "task oriented".
[63] This is comprised of her categories *directions, main activity whole class*, and *follow-up*.

4.3.1 Participant structure by class

In Tables 9 and 10 it was shown that class type seemed related to language use, with slightly more Spanish produced in social studies than in language arts for three of the students (and considerably more Spanish produced by Matt in social studies than in language arts, as seen in Table 10). It was suggested that the greater amount of teacher fronted lessons during social studies may have caused the increased Spanish use of Carolina, Melissa and Matt. Table 13 shows the number of hours of each type of participant structure in each class, while Table 14 shows the number of turns taken during each participant structure in each class.

Table 13, Amount of each participant structure in each class

N=12 hours 36 min	Language arts	Social studies	Transitions
Teacher fronted time	57% (5 hours 1 min)	71% (2 hours 25 min)	12 min (48%)
Groupwork time	43% (3 hours 45 min)	29% (1 hour 0 min)	13 min (52%)
Total	100% (8 hrs 46 mins)	100% (3 hrs 25 mins)	100% (25 mins)

Table 14, Language of turns taken in each participant structure, by class

N=1,879	Language arts N=1,255		Social studies N=622	
Teacher fronted turns	52% (657)		62% (388)	
	Spanish	English	Spanish	English
	69% (452/657)	31% (205/657)	70% (273/388)	30% (115/388)
Groupwork turns	48% (598)		38% (234)	
	Spanish	English	Spanish	English
	42% (251/598)	58% (347/598)	52% (121/234)	48% (113/234)

Table 13 shows that 14% more social studies classes were teacher fronted (71%) than language arts classes (57%). Table 14 shows that of all turns taken during social studies, more were during teacher fronted lessons (62%) than during groupwork (38%). This difference of 24% is more than the difference found in language arts (52% teacher fronted versus turns 48% groupwork turns). As was shown in Table 12, given that teacher fronted lessons overall resulted in more Spanish use (67%) than did groupwork (42%), this may explain why more Spanish was used during social studies. Table 14 also shows that in both classes, teacher fronted lessons resulted in 69% to 70% Spanish use, while groupwork ranged from 42 to 52% Spanish use. It is unclear why groupwork turns were rendered in Spanish 10% more often in social studies (52%) than in language arts (42%). It may be that social studies groupwork lessons more often required the use of Spanish in order to carry out the tasks successfully.

Although the distinction between teacher fronted and groupwork lessons has highlighted some differences in students' language use, it ignores a more important level of detail. As explained in chapters 2 and 3, participant structure alone cannot capture whether the teacher was an intended interlocutor. That is, not all things said by students during teacher-fronted lessons are "public" and loud enough to be heard by the teacher. Students often say things quietly to each other during teacher fronted lessons, and since those turns do not have the teacher as an intended interlocutor, they should not be counted with comments directed to the teacher. Also, students may actually speak to the teacher during groupwork if she approaches their desks. This is why I went a step further and coded the turns according to interlocutor.

As described in chapter 3, I used the volume of the turn to decide whether the student likely intended for the teacher to hear it. If the speech was picked up by the videocamera in the corner of the room, it was considered public and labeled "to teacher[64]." If a turn was picked up only by the tape recorder on the desk, it was labeled "to peers" (unless the student was actually talking to the teacher while she was near his group, in which case the turn was labeled "nonpublic to teacher"). Although this criterion is not free from some degree of subjectivity, it was the most useful way to code the data.

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[64] Public turns directed to the teacher during teacher fronted lessons could also be heard by other peers.

4.4 Interlocutor

Participant structure was not always correlated with interlocutor. This data is presented in Table 15.

Table 15, Participant structure and interlocutor

N=2,050	Teacher fronted	Groupwork/transitions	Total
# of turns to teacher	84% (811)	16% (154)	100% (965)
# of turns to peers	29% (312)	71% (773)	100% (1,085)

As expected, most of the turns during teacher fronted lessons were directed to the teacher (84%) and most of the turns during groupwork/transitions were directed to peers (71%). However, 29% of all turns taken during teacher fronted lessons were to directed peers, and 16% of all turns taken during groupwork/transitions were directed to the teacher, justifying the separation of interlocutor from participant structure.

Comparing language use data according to participant structure and interlocutor suggests that interlocutor is a better predictor of language use than participant structure. Table 16 shows how students' language use correlated with interlocutor.

Table 16, Interlocutor

	Spanish	English	Total
To teacher (47% of corpus)	82% (794)	18% (171)	100% (965)
To peers (53% of corpus)	32% (347)	68% (738)	100% (1,085)
Total (100% of corpus)	1,141	909	2,050

4.4.1 Teacher interlocutor

Of the 965 turns directed to the teacher, 82% were in Spanish and 18% were in English. Another way to look at this data is that of the total 1,141 Spanish turns in the corpus, 70% of them (794) were directed to the teacher, and that of the total 909 English turns in the corpus, only 19% of them (171) were directed to the teacher, which indicates a good deal of effort on the students' part to conform to the teacher's language expectations when addressing her. As will be shown in Section 4.6, 76% of the 171 English turns directed to the teacher were produced by the two boys.

My finding that 82% of the turns directed to the teacher were in Spanish is lower than Broner's (2000) finding that when the interlocutor was an adult (the teacher, the aide, the researchers, or any adult person who interacted with the children during taping), the three focal students used Spanish 98% of the time[53]. Broner (2000) pointed out that only 15% of her total corpus of 4,843 utterances included an adult as an interlocutor (2000:106). It would seem easier for students to use their L2 for such a limited number of adult turns. Since my focal students directed 47% of all of their turns to the teacher, it was not surprising that more English was used than in Broner (2000). In general, though, my finding that more Spanish was used with the teacher than with peers does coincide with Broner (2000) as well as with Howard & Christian's observation that "in general," dual immersion students were observed using the language of instruction while talking to the teacher (1997). Parker et al. did not analyze students' turns by interlocutor but noted that "Learners almost never used English with a teacher in a teacher-fronted situation" (1995:245).

One further analysis was conducted on teacher turns. As explained previously, turns to the teacher could be public (when shouted out) or non public (when she approached students' desks). I examined language use directed to the teacher under these two conditions (Table 17).

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[53] I did not include in my corpus any turns directed to the student aides or to the researcher, but their inclusion would not have raised the students' total Spanish use.

Table 17, Public and private turns directed to the teacher

Total turns to teacher (N=965)	**Spanish**	**English**
Public (N=818)	84% (687)	16% (131)
Private (N=147)	76% (111)	24% (36)

Students used slightly more English when speaking privately with the teacher (24%) than they did publicly (16%). Since using English during Spanish time could result in a reprimand, students may have tried to avoid a public reprimand by adhering to the language rule more strictly when speaking publicly, relaxing slightly when speaking to the teacher privately.

4.4.2 Peer interlocutors

During 100 hours of observations and fieldnotes carried out over nine months, I saw that English was the preferred language among peers. During groupwork, students tended to use English whenever possible. Most of them would speak Spanish only when the teacher was within earshot or when carrying out a task that required reading aloud or group writing in Spanish. The data supported these observations: of the 1,085 turns directed to peers, 68% were in English and only 32% were in Spanish (a considerable drop from their 82% Spanish use with the teacher). That is, English was clearly the preferred language for peer interactions, used twice as often as Spanish.

Due to the presence of native Spanish-speaking students, I expected to find greater peer Spanish use in the dual immersion setting than had been found in regular immersion contexts. Although Broner (2000) also found considerably less Spanish use with peers than with the teacher, I found less peer

Spanish (32%) than Broner's (2000) 58%[66]. This may be due to stricter language enforcement during groupwork by the teacher in Broner's study, although this is difficult to quantify.

My study suggests that the mere presence of students for whom Spanish was a first language does not guarantee greater student Spanish use. Many of the Spanish L1 students at the Inter-American were highly proficient in spoken English and many used more English than Spanish in their daily lives. Indeed, in observations over seven months in all grade level classrooms, on the playground, and in the cafeteria, English was the students' preferred language. Under these circumstances, it may be just as difficult to get Spanish L1 as Spanish L2 students to use Spanish. Carranza's interpretation of "a feeling of 'pretense' when two people communicate in one language, knowing that both can be more effective in another" (1995:174) may explain my findings. That is, speaking in Spanish with peers may have felt just as "false" to Spanish L1 students as to Spanish L2 students, so they tended to do so only when monitored by the teacher.

As suggested by Tarone & Swain (1995), a diglossic situation may be present in this dual immersion classroom. Overall, Spanish was used primarily (70% of the time) for talking with the teacher, and, as will be shown in Section 4.5, primarily for academically-related topics.

4.4.3 Interlocutor by class

Finally, I sought to establish whether class influenced language use with each type of interlocutor (Table 18).

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[66] Additionally, Broner's turns were monolingual while my definition allowed for the borrowing of an English lexeme.

Table 18, Language to each interlocutor by class

N = 2,050	**Language arts** N=1,254		**Social studies** N=622		**Transitions** N=174	
# of turns to **teacher**	N=545/1,245 (43%)		N=343/622 (55%)		N=78/174 (45%)	
	Spanish	English	Spanish	English	Spanish	English
	87% (473/545)	13% (72/545)	82% (282/343)	18% (61/343)	50% (39/78)	50% (39/78)
# of turns to **peers**	N=709/1,245 (57%)		N=279/622 (45%)		N=96/174 (55%)	
	Spanish	English	Spanish	English	Spanish	English
	32% (230/709)	68% (479/709)	33% (113/279)	67% (166/279)	5% (5/96)	95% (91/96)

Figure 1, Language to each interlocutor by class (based on data in Table 18)

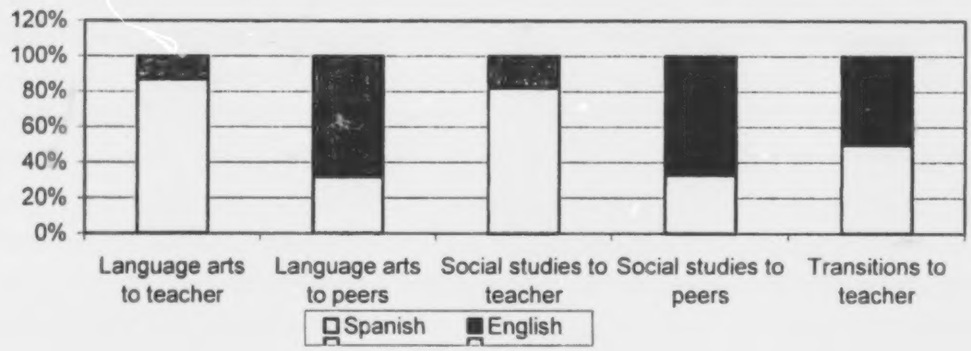

Table 18 and Figure 1 show that language use with the teacher was similar in language arts and in social studies, as was language use with peers. Transitions between classes showed a greater percentage of English use than the academic classes, particularly among peers (95%) but also when speaking to the teacher (50%).

Table 18 shows that social studies saw 12% more turns directed to the teacher (55%) than language arts (43%), although the percent of those teacher directed turns that were in Spanish was slightly lower (82%) than in language arts (87%). However, there was a slightly higher overall percentage of

Spanish use during social studies (63%) than in language arts (56%) (as was shown in Table 9), which might have been due to this 12% greater percentage of turns directed to the teacher. In other words, since more turns were directed to the teacher during social studies, more overall social studies turns were in Spanish. Participant structure may also have played a role in the greater Spanish use during social studies: social studies turns were teacher fronted 71% of the time, while language arts turns were teacher fronted only 57% of the time (Table 13), and teacher fronted lessons resulted in more Spanish use (67%) than did groupwork (42%) (as shown in Table 12).

Before presenting the language use of each individual student with the two types of interlocutor (teacher and peers), it is necessary to discuss how topic affected students' language use generally, because topic was highly correlated with students' language use with the teacher and with peers.

4.5 Topic

Whether students' comments were on task (directly related to the academic content), management (talk that regulated the completion of the academic task), or off task (unrelated to the academic task) appeared to influence students' language use. Table 19 shows the amount of Spanish and English used overall for on task, management, and off task turns.

Table 19, Topic

N=2,050	Spanish	English	Total
On task (67% of corpus)	68% (935)	32% (436)	100% (1,371)
Management (16% of corpus)	43% (144)	57% (193)	10C% (337)
Off task (15% of corpus)	17% (54)	83% (258)	100% (312)
Unknown[67] (1% of corpus)	30% (9)	70% (21)	100% (30)

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[67] The 34 turns coded "unknown" were difficult to code because the preceding turn was not entirely audible, making the topic impossible to determine.

A total of 1,708 turns were on task or management, representing 83% of the total 2,050 turns. This indicates that students were engaged in or managing the teacher's lesson plan the majority of the time. Of the on task turns, 68% were in Spanish and 32% were in English, indicating a preference for Spanish when making on task comments. However, when managing the performance of a task, students used *English* 57% of the time. This may be because: (1) management turns were not about the academic topic itself; (2) management turns were always directed to peers, which may have led to a preference for English; and (3) students may not have known the Spanish vocabulary to manage turns.

Only 15% of the total turns in the corpus were off task. Of these, 83% were in English and only 17% were in Spanish. This indicates that students greatly preferred English for off task topics, including Pokemon cards, Nintendo games, television shows, and the events of the previous night. There were also instances of what Broner (2000) called "adolescent vernacular," such as "for real," "whatever," "dude," "crabby," "boogers," and "cool." Students' off task language will be examined in more detail in section 4.6. It will be shown that their off task Spanish did not have as wide a variety of functions as did their off task English.

Therefore, when on task, these students chose to use Spanish four times more often (68%) than when off task (17%). Greater use of Spanish when on task was also found in Parker et al. (1995), who recorded an increase from 70% to 88% in teacher fronted situations and from 22% to 27% in groupwork activities when students were on task[68]. The authors noted that when conversing in groups, students only used Spanish "to perform a rather limited number of task-related speech acts: reading text, rereading or restating information drawn from target-language materials, and producing answer-oriented output" (Parker et al.1995:246) while all social comments were in made English. It may be, as suggested by Tarone &

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[68] However, while the 88% and 27% figures represented task-oriented activity only, the 70% and 22% figures represented a combination of social and task oriented situations, making it impossible to isolate the weight of the variable *task*.

Swain (1995) and McCollum (1994) that these four students saw Spanish as the language of official school business only.

Broner (2000) also found an effect for task: when on task, all three students used Spanish 68% or more, but when off task, both Carolina and Leonard used *English* 69% of the time. Marvin used English only 35% when off task, but this was still 8% more than his on-task English comments. It should be noted that Broner included management-type comments under the category *on task*, as evidenced by her comment that in one example, "...the children are clearly on task...since they are talking about the markers they are using to decorate the poem they have just written" (2000:151). I would have coded such a turn as *management*, a decision which proved fruitful since management turns were rendered in English twice as often as were on task turns. Despite this different categorizing procedure, Broner's (2000) on task Spanish use was just 1% more than in my study.

4.5.1 Topic, by student

Analyzing the language use of each student depending on the topic revealed another gender-related language use preference. This information is displayed in Tables 20 and 21.

Table 20, Topic by student

	On task			Management			Off task		
	Span	Eng	Total*	Span	Eng	Total*	Span	Eng	Total*
Carolina (n=590)	74% (341)	26% (120)	100% (461) *78% of her corpus*	82% (38)	18% (8)	100% (46) *8% of her corpus*	15% (12)	55% (65)	100% (77) *13% of her corpus*
Matt (n=527)	75% (200)	25% (67)	100% (267) *51% of his corpus*	19% (29)	81% (122)	100% (151) *29% of his corpus*	18% (17)	72% (82)	100% (96) *18% of his corpus*
Melissa (n=340)	67% (139)	33% (67)	100% (206) *61% of her corpus*	74% (64)	26% (23)	100% (87) *26% of her corpus*	31% (13)	69% (29)	100% (42) *12% of her corpus*
Otto (n=593)	86% (255)	14% (40)	100% (269) *50% of his corpus*	25% (13)	75% (40)	100% (53) *9% of his corpus*	12% (12)	88% (85)	100% (97) *16% of his corpus*

Note: Corpus totals in these columns do not equal 100% because some turns were coded "unknown" for topic

Carolina was on task 78% of the time and used Spanish for 74% of those turns. Melissa was very similar to Carolina: on task 61% of the time and used Spanish 67% for her on task turns. Matt was on task half of the time (51%) and used Spanish 75% of the time for on task turns. Like Matt, Otto was on task 50% of the time but used Spanish for them slightly more often than the other three students (86%). It is unclear why Otto used a higher percentage of Spanish for his on task turns, given that he used less overall than the other focal students. In any case, Otto's language use was the most diglossic of all four students. The girls were on task more often than the boys, yet they all used high levels of Spanish (averaging 76%) for on task comments.

Carolina managed tasks less frequently than Matt and Melissa (8%), but used more Spanish to do so (82%) than either of them. Melissa managed more often than everyone except Matt (26%) but used Spanish slightly lees often to do so (74%). Matt is notable because he managed activity more often than the other three (29%) yet used Spanish only 19% to do so. Like Carolina, Otto managed tasks relatively little (9%), but did so only 25% in Spanish. Therefore, there was no clear pattern of language use when managing classroom activity.

Carolina and Melissa were off task approximately the same amount (12% to 13% of each of their corpuses), but Melissa differed from the other three students in that she used 31% Spanish for those off task comments, double that of Carolina (15%) and the boys (who also averaged 15%). However, it should be noted that Melissa made only 42 off task comments, compared to an average of 90 for the other three students. That she was off task less often than her classmates supports the observation that she was very academically oriented. The fact that she used Spanish even when off task is reminiscent of "Marvin" (Broner 2000), who used Spanish when off task twice as often as his two classmates. This is consistent with findings presented thus far (Tables 7 and 10) that Melissa often made more effort to use Spanish in the classroom than her classmates. This category is particularly notable, since using Spanish when off task suggests a strong investment in practicing the language and in being perceived by the teacher and her classmates as someone who chose to use Spanish. Matt was off task slightly more often than the other three, at 18% of his corpus, yet he used slightly more Spanish than Carolina when off task (18%). Similarly to Matt, Otto was off task 16% of the time and rendered those turns in Spanish only 12% of the time. Therefore, being off task resulted in more English use for all four students, but Melissa used the most Spanish (31%) when off task.

Table 21 shows that there was a clear gender division for language use by topic.

Table 21, Topic and language by gender (averages of the percentages in Table 20)

	On task			Management			Off task		
	Spanish	English	**Total**	Spanish	English	**Total**	Spanish	English	**Total**
Girls	71%	29%	**72%**	78%	22%	**14%**	21%	79%	**13%**
Boys	81%	19%	**50%**	22%	78%	**16%**	15%	85%	**17%**

The girls were slightly more often on task (71%) and slightly less often off task (13%) than the boys, who were on task 50% and off task 17% of the time. However, when on task, the girls used less Spanish (71%) than the boys (81%). The girls also used much more Spanish for management (78%) than the boys (22%). Girls and boys used roughly the same percentages of Spanish and English when off task.

That Spanish was used less by the two girls for on task turns (78% compared to the boys' 81%) contradicts the results presented in Tables 8, 11 and 20 that the girls more often conformed to the classroom language rules. However, English was preferred by all students for off task turns, although Melissa used less than the other three students.

4.5.2 Topic by class, by participant structure, and by interlocutor

Since on task turns were four times more likely to be made in Spanish than were off task turns, an investigation was made of the contexts in which the most on task turns were produced. Table 22 presents topic with class and Tables 23a and 23b present topic with interlocutor.

Table 22, Topic and Class

	On task	Off task	Total
Language arts	85% (914)	15% (167)	100% (1,081)
Social studies	82% (461)	18% (99)	100% (560)

Table 22 shows that language arts and social studies did not show much difference in the amount of on task turns produced (between 82% and 85%).

Table 23a, Topic and interlocutor

	On task	Off task	Total
To teacher	97% (899)	3% (28)	100% (927)
To peers	69% (588)	31% (278)	100% (866)

Table 23b, Interlocutor and topic

	To teacher	To Peers	Total
Off task	9% (28)	91% (278)	100% (306)
On task	60% (899)	40% (588)	100% (1,487)

Table 23a shows that turns made to the teacher were on task 97% of the time, while turns made to peers were on task less (69%). Table 23b shows that the greatest number of off task turns were directed to peer interlocutors (91%); only 9% of off task turns were directed to the teacher. This means that these students were most often on task (and using Spanish) when talking to the teacher, and were most often off task (and using English) when speaking with each other.

4.6 Individual students, interlocutor, and topic

In this section I explore the language use made by each student when speaking to the teacher and to their peers. Broner (2000) was able to report on how students influenced each other's Spanish use because she sat the three focal students together for the duration of her study, while I preferred not to interrupt the natural processes of the classroom. Additionally, since students in this classroom changed tables once a month, there would have been too many different student interlocutors to make any reliable correlations with language use.

Table 24 displays individual students' overall language use with each type of interlocutor.

Table 24, Interlocutor by student

	To teacher			**To peers**		
	Spanish N=794	**English** N=171	**Total** N=965	**Spanish** N=347	**English** N=738	**Total** N=1,085
Carolina	91% (270)	9% (26)	100% (296)	42% (123)	58% (171)	100% (294)
Matt	83% (195)	17% (41)	100% (236)	18% (53)	82% (238)	100% (291)
Melissa	88% (112)	9% (15)	100% (127)	50% (107)	50% (106)	100% (213)
Otto	71% (216)	29% (89)	100% (305)	23% (65)	77% (223)	100% (288)

Table 24 shows that Otto used the most teacher English (29%) and the least teacher Spanish (71%) of all four students, and that Melissa used the most peer Spanish (50%). A discussion of each student's language use by interlocutor and how often those turns were on task, management, or off task has been divided into the following four subsections, one for each student.

4.6.1 Carolina

Table 25 displays Carolina's language use by topic and interlocutor.

Table 25, Carolina's language use, topic by interlocutor

	To teacher		**To Peers**	
	Spanish	**English**	**Spanish**	**English**
On task	97% (261)	96% (24)	64% (79)	57% (97)
Management	1% (2)	0% (0)	31% (36)	6% (8)
Off task	2% (6)	4% (2)	5% (6)	37% (63)
Total*	N= 270	N=26	N=123	N=171

**Note: Totals do not equal 100% because some turns were coded "unknown" for topic*

With the teacher

Table 24 showed that Carolina's total teacher turns were 91% in Spanish and 9% in English. She had the greatest percentage of Spanish with the teacher (accounting for 34% of the corpus of teacher Spanish turns, see Appendix G) and the least percentage of English of all four students. As will be explored in Chapter 5, Carolina identified strongly with her bilingual heritage. Descriptions of her home language use indicate that her family used both Spanish and English regularly. This may explain why she used Spanish so often with the teacher, but not why she did not use Spanish 100% of the time when the teacher was an interlocutor.

Carolina's Teacher English

Table 25 shows that fully 25 of Carolina's 26 teacher English turns (96%) were on task. A closer look at Carolina's teacher English reveals that five of those turns were instances of providing one-word translations ("pipes" for *pipas*, "beer" for *cerveza*) and four consisted of the nouns "laser tag", "Crazy Horse", "Disneyworld", or the name of a radio station "B 96". In one instance, the teacher herself had actually used English first, saying that "The Titanic was nineteen twelve," to which Carolina responded, "Yeah, nineteen twelve". These uses of English when the teacher was an interlocutor do not seem to constitute breaking the Spanish language rule (and they were not reprimanded by the teacher).

Other instances of Carolina's public English did not involve translations or proper nouns. Two of her public English turns were simply "Yeah" and "Cool", while examples 62 through 66 were on task comments made in English. In examples 55 through 59, although her turns were loud and public during teacher fronted lessons, they seemed directed to her classmates: in 55 and 56 she contested their claims, and in 59 she established that she knew that "ciento cinco" was a Mexican radio station and that she did not like it.

(55)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué hacemos cuando no queremos cocinar?
2 Carolina: Order out
3 Ms. Torres: ¡Exacto! Llamar a los restaurantes, o ir a McDonalds.
(56)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué le pasó a la muchacha?.
2 Carolina: She got pregnant.

(57) [*Carolina is disputing Otto's claim to remember an event from the past*]
1 Otto: Ms. Torres, yo estaba en/
2 Carolina: He wasn't even born!

(58)
1 Ms. Torres: [*to Matt*]: ¿Dònde lo viste?
2 Matt: I guessed, I guessed.
3 Carolina: He saw the book, no, I saw him open the book.

(59) *[The teacher is asking students what radio station they would like to listen to]*
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Les pongo ciento cinco? [*A local Mexican radio station*]
2 Carolina: No, I don't like WOJO [*Pronounced as a word*].

Carolina's teacher Spanish

Table 24 showed that Carolina made 270 teacher turns in Spanish, accounting for 34% of the 793 teacher Spanish turns in the corpus. Her teacher Spanish was similar to her teacher English in that it was almost entirely on task. Many of these turns provided vocabulary items asked about by other students (example 60) although she also asked about words she did not understand (example 61). Others were information that she voluntarily shouted out (example 62) or was selected for (example 63).

(60)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Saben lo que son hachas?
2 Carolina: Oh, yo sé. Yo sé, yo sé, yo sé. Es algo que, uh, corta madera.
3 Ms. Torres: Sí, que corta madera.
(61)
1 Ms. Torres: Con sus dientes macizos.
2 Carolina: ¿Qué son macizos?
3 Ms. Torres: Fuertes.

(62)
1 Ms. Torres: La señora no le entendiò nada, ¿se acuerdan?

2 Carolina: Porque no sabe español.
3 Ms. Torres: Sí.

(63)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre un mito y una leyenda?
2 Carolina: La diferencia es que mitos dicen de como comenzaron, el mundo y porque, porque había gente que murieron y después leyendas ¿son como, acerca de cosas reales pero dicen cosas que no pasaron?

At times, Carolina borrowed an English lexeme into her public Spanish, as in examples 64 and 65[69].

(64)
1 Ms. Torres: No me regresaron su *bookmark*.
2 Carolina: El mío es uno, um, *orange*.

(65)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿No saben lo que Oseola está haciendo?
2 Carolina: Sí, esta *wrestling* con un cocodrilo.

With peers

Table 24 showed that Carolina's peer turns were 42% in Spanish and 58% in English. This was twice the peer Spanish use of the boys (whose peer Spanish was between 18% and 23%) and considerably more than other students I observed in the classroom. Although her percentage of peer Spanish was slightly lower than Melissa's (50%), Carolina actually produced the most peer Spanish in the corpus (35%, slightly more than Melissa's 31%). Given that her high oral Spanish proficiency would have allowed her to use Spanish with her peers more often than she did, it may be that she used more English than Spanish with them in order to not risk being labeled a "lame" (Labov 1972), an individual whose use of a standard language variety, or in this case the "official" school language (Tarone & Swain 1995) marks them as peripheral to the core adolescent group. Had Carolina insisted on using Spanish with her classmates, most of whom preferred English, she may have risked being rejected by them. This interpretation will be examined in Section 4.10.

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[69] These are similar to the "permissible" uses of English in Broner "when the children did not know a particular word in the L2" (2000:107). It would appear from the data that English was Carolina's dominant language.

Carolina's Peer Spanish

Table 25 showed that of Carolina's peer Spanish turns, 64% were on task (examples 66 and 67) while 31% were related to managing the task or materials needed to carry it out (examples 68 and 69).

(66)
1 Otto: "Heno" es un comida?
2 Carolina: No, heno es *hay*.

(67)
1 Melissa: Caro, ¿qué rima con "norte"?
2 Carolina: Corte... ¿Norte? Corte, bote...
3 Melissa: ¿Huh?
4 Carolina: Bote, um... [*6 second pause*] Yo tengo una lista.

(68)
OK, ahora,.. No, este no tiene. ¿Qué queremos agregar al [resumen] de David?

(69)
Matty, ¿adónde pones.. mi pluma?

Carolina actually responded in Spanish to a peer's English 13 times in the corpus (examples 70 through 72), a behavior that broke with the typical peer preference for English and would seem to risk being perceived as a "lame". It is possible that Carolina did this because of the tape recorder, but there were plenty of times when the tape recorder was present that she responded to a peer's English in English. Therefore, her peer Spanish turns may represent moments in which she was genuinely interested in using the official language of the lesson. In example 72, she found the answer to Eleanor's question in her notes; she probably offered her answer in Spanish because she was halfway reading it.

(70)

1 Jesús: Can I have one of your gelly rolls? [*Brand of pen*]
2 Carolina: Yo no, yo no tengo. Creo que... creo que yo no... creo que tengo allí. Déjame ver.

(71)
1 Jesús: I'm getting confused between all these people!
2 Carolina: No, porque no más...de todas, de todos, no más los um, los reyes podían vivir arriba de los um, de los *mounds*.

(72) 3/28, 16:35
1 Eleanor: What was it about?
2 Carolina: Para enseñar. Para.. informarnos, um, de los inmigrantes que vienen a los Estados Unidos.

Four of the times that Carolina used Spanish after a peer's English were directed to Moisés. She appeared to use Spanish to get him back on task (example 73) or to chastise him for distracting his tablemates. She sometimes requested that he use Spanish and corrected his oral Spanish production (example 74).

(73) [*Moisés is off task, making a cartoon drawing of a person*]
1 Moisés: What color hair?
2 Carolina: No importa, no debes de estar haciendo eso ahora.

(74):
Moisés: Sí, como mi hermano. She never leaves me alone.
Carolina: ¿Hermano? Hermana.

She occasionally told on other students for using English (example 75). The cases I observed seemed to be motivated by the fact that the other student was off task and possibly distracting Carolina.

(75)
1 Jesús: Teos' car, on the back, on the back bumper.
2 Carolina: [*To teacher*] Él está hablando, él está hablando inglés.

Of Carolina's peer Spanish turns, only six were off task (example 76 line 3 and example 77), suggesting that she rarely used Spanish to socialize with friends.

(76)
1 Moisés: Smile, you're on camera. For real.
2 Carolina: For real?
[*Turns around to see videocamera*]
3 Carolina: ¡Oh! Yo ni sabía.

(77)
1 Carolina [*to Eleanor, English L1 girl*]: ¿Qué animal usted[70] tenía?
2 Eleanor: For the fourth grade XX or whatever?

In example 78, Carolina's comment was on task but unlike most of her on task Spanish, it appeared to also have the purpose of being funny.

(78)
José: No me cabe el resumen breve de la historia.
Carolina: No es breve.
Student: Es larga. [*Laughter*]

Carolina's Peer English

Like her peer Spanish, Carolina's peer English was often on task (57%), sometimes to ask for Spanish vocabulary or to explain it (example 79). 6% of her peer English was used to manage tasks, such as telling a tablemate "This goes right here, and then this goes in right here." She responded to her peers' English in English (examples 80 through 82) far more often than in Spanish. She also responded in English to a peer's Spanish on two occasions (example 83).

(79)
1 Eleanor: What are delinquents?
2 Carolina: Like, people that do like...criminals.

(80)
1 Eleanor: Can I borrow a pen?
2 Carolina: I don't have one. He took mine.

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[70] Carolina often used "usted" with her peers; I noted that her mother often used it with her daughters.

(81)
1 Lázaro [*to Eleanor*]: You'll have to get a dictionary.
2 Carolina: Why, what happened?
3 Lázaro: She don't know how to say "background".

(82)
[*Christina is reading aloud*] Can you read to yourself?

(83)
1 Jesús: ¿La sangre? No, los pintaban.
2 Carolina: Oh, yeah.

The most notable difference between Carolina's peer English and her peer Spanish was the higher quantity of off task comments and greater variety of non-academic topics in her peer English. Her peer Spanish was only 5% off task while her peer English was 37% off task. Her peer English included talk about music, radio shows, movies and books popular with adolescents, friends' behavior outside of school, the common English expression "Yes!" when one's answer is correct, talking about what was "cool" or "retarded" (examples 84 and 85), and resistance to school (example 86).

(84) [*Talking about flying in an airplane*]
1 Student: I'm not scared
2 Carolina: I'm not scared. Especially with turbulence, it's so cool.
3 Lázaro: Yeah but then when you hear on the *noticias*, people just got killed… nah, I don't want… no, no!

(85)
1 Eleanor: This is the most retarded I've ever drawn.
2 Carolina: Let me see. Oh yeah, that's retarded. [*Laughs*]

(86)
1 P.A. [*public address announcement*]: Queremos recordarles que hoy en la noche tenemos una cena pot luck/
2 Carolina: [*Quietly to tablemates*] I'm not going.
3 P.A.: Va a ser divertido y la comida va a ser rica.
4 Carolina: Whatever.

All four students used Spanish with peers for restricted circumstances and topics, and that their peer English was much more varied, as will be seen in Table 31.

4.6.2 Matt

Table 26 presents Matt's language use by topic and interlocutor.

Table 26, Matt's language use, topic by interlocutor

Matt	**To teacher**		**To Peers**	
Note: Totals do not equal 100% because some turns were coded "unknown" for topic	**Spanish**	**English**	**Spanish**	**English**
On task	91% (177)	83% (34)	43% (23)	14% (34)
Management	5% (10)	12% (5)	38% (20)	49% (116)
Off task	4% (8)	5% (2)	19% (10)	32% (76)
Total	N=195	N=41	N=53	N=238

With the teacher

Table 24 showed that Matt's teacher turns were 17% in English and 83% in Spanish, accounting for approximately a quarter of the corpus of each. He used slightly less teacher Spanish than the girls (who averaged 86%) but more than Otto.

Matt's Teacher English

Similarly to Carolina, the majority of Matt's teacher English (83%) was on task (examples 87 and 88) and 12% was management (examples 89 and 90). Three of Matt's public English turns were translations or a focus on vocabulary, as in example 91.

(87)
1 Ms. Torres: No viajaron por el mar, ni por el golfo de México, sino/
2 Student: Caminaban.
3 Matt: Too much rocks.

(88)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué está haciendo el ciervo?
2 Matt: Running.
3 Ms. Torres: Está corriendo. ¿Por qué? ¿Qué está buscando?

(89)
1 Ms. Torres: En la pagina sesenta y tres, yo les voy a decir quien…ahorita.
2 Matt: Oh, can I finish?
3 Student: I'm not done, Ms. Torres.

(90)
1 Ms. Torres: Yo les voy a regresar sus *bookmarks*.
2 Matt: Ms. Torres, can I trade?

(91)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué es sincero? ¿Matt? Un hombre, una persona que dice lo que siente, que de verdad/
2 Matt: Sensitive?
3 Ms. Torres: No, *sincere*.

In four cases, Matt's public English was the use of the word "yeah" in response to Ms. Torres' attempt to clarify something he had said. Like Carolina, he once used English with the teacher after the teacher herself had used English.

Several of Matt's public English turns took place the day that the teacher was soliciting movie titles the students wanted to see or volunteers for the classroom *trabajos*. In example 92, when arguing with the teacher, Matt switched into English; we will see that Otto did the same thing. Although the teacher allowed English use during such off-task periods, in example 93 she may have insisted on Spanish in an attempt to put a stop to Matt's arguing.

(92)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Quién ha sido mensajero?
2 Matt: Yo... yo no..
3 Ms. Torres: ¿Nadie ha sido mensajero? ¡Qué mentira!
4 Matt: No. Yo no. Yo no. I've never been *mensajero*. You can't even name one time I was *mensajero* and... you can't name it.

(93) [*The teacher is vetoing the suggestion of a PG-13 movie for the class field trip*]
1 Ms. Torres: Pueden ver esa película en la privacidad de sus casas con sus papás, tranquilos.
2 Matt: But we are accompani--d b... we are, we are, by an adult.
3 Ms. Torres: Matt, ¿por qué estás hablando en inglés? Me debes una canica[71].

Matt's Teacher Spanish

As for his teacher Spanish, Matt's 195 turns accounted for 25% of the corpus. Like Carolina, most was on task (91%) and involved providing vocabulary, answers to the teacher's questions, information voluntarily shouted out, or asking questions to the teacher (examples 94 and 95).

(94)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿De dónde vienen los inmigrantes?
2 Several students: México.
3 Ms. Torres: ¿ Solamente?
4 Several students: No.
5 Matt: De centro y suramérica.
6 Ms. Torres: Muy bien, Matt.

(95)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Cómo pasaste tu tus vacaciones, Matt?
2 Matt: Um, yo...[me stay] en la..yo me.. I stayed... yo... Me quedé en la casa. Um, y, el sábado I, yo fui a un partido de fútbol. Y perdimos tres a cero.
3 Ms. Torres: Ay, qué pena. Pero van a ganar después. O sea que te quedaste en casa, no saliste a ningún lado/
4 Matt: No, pero, es que, este, deciden, um, estamos en una nueva cancha y es muy grande.

Like Carolina, Matt often incorporated English lexical items into public turns (example 96).

(96)
1 Ms. Torres: Mano franca, ¿ustedes saben esa frase?
2 Matt: Oh, yo.. es proposing, or something.
3 Ms. Torres : ¿Perdón?
4 Matt: Es proposando.
3 Ms. Torres : No.

---

[71] Students could eam *canicas* for finishing their work on time, for using Spanish during groupwork, and for other behaviors the teacher wanted to reinforce. Students lost *canicas* primarily for using English during Spanish time. The efficacy of *canicas* as a language use motivator will be examined in Section 5.2.

Matt's off task teacher Spanish turns usually involved requests to go to the bathroom. Only once in the corpus did Matt publicly correct a peer's Spanish:

(97)
1 Moisés:: Yo sabe la diferencia.
2 Matt: Yo sé la diferencia.

Four of Matt's teacher Spanish turns were the result of her request that he recast an English turn in Spanish (examples 98 and 99), which did not occur to the two girls.

(98)
1 Matt: I'm almost done.
2 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué?
3 Matt: Yo necesito dos personas más y termino.

(99) [*Talking about his experience on an airplane*]
1 Matt: And then they turned off the lights for the bathroom, *y des/*
2 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué? No te entiendo.
3 Matt: Y después/
4 Carolina: Apagaron.
5 Matt: ... apagaron las luces del baño, y allí me quede, eh, *knocking on the door.*
6 Ms. Torres: Qué miedo.

Ms. Torres told me that during Spanish lessons, she would prefer students to repeat their English turns in Spanish but that her goals for that moment and whether she was in a hurry often determined whether she took the time to request a Spanish repetition from a student. She also admitted that she sometimes answered English questions without realizing it. She said that she requested Spanish repetitions in Spanish if she felt the student had the ability to do so, or if a student used English constantly (and added, "For example, Otto").

After using English within a Spanish turn or producing an error in Spanish, students often had an opportunity to repeat the word or correction provided by Ms. Torres. When asked to recast an English utterance Matt usually complied, but when the teacher corrected his content or his Spanish, his tendency was to respond with just "Yeah" (examples 100 through 102):

(100)
1 Matt: Oh, pero... yo fui al, yo fui al baño, y después... um, para lavarme las manos, y después, um, um, the plane, como, el avión/
2 Ms. Torres: ¿Aterrizó?
3 Matt:. Huh?
4 Ms. Torres: ¿Cuando el avión aterriza?
5 Matt: Yeah.

(101)
[*Students are seated in a circle on the floor, offering* reconocimientos *(acknowledgements) of other people*]

1 Matt: Quiero, uh, quiero reconocer a alguien afuera de la clase. César. Porque el invito a mí y y José y Lázaro a su cum..[*laughs*] a su cumpleaños.
2 Ms. Torres: A José, Lázaro y a mí.
3 Matt: Yeah.

(102)
1 Ms. Torres: [*Reading Matt's summary*] "Esto puso fin a la guerra." ¿Cuál guerra?
2 Matt: La que... Estados Unidos tenía con México.
3 Ms. Torres: Y ¿qué puso fin?
4 Matt: El contrato.
5 Ms. Torres: ¿El tratado de Guadalupe?
6 Matt: Yeah.

In example 103, it seemed that Matt switched to Spanish in order to be allowed to lower the overhead screen, but when he was not successful, he switched back to English in line 3. This example also shows his willingness to help the teacher and participate in classroom management, despite his anti-school comments in other contexts (particularly in his peer English).

(103)
1 Ms. Torres: Baja la pantalla, Teo.
2 Matt: Oh, can I.. ¿Puedo ir?
[*Tomás gets up to lower the screen*]
3 Matt: Oh, man.

In Section 4.10 I will offer the interpretation that Matt, who spoke Spanish daily with his monolingual grandparents, resisted speaking it to his mother and sister and spoke the minimal amount in the classroom that he needed to stay in good standing with the teacher. Despite his anti-academic discourse, he showed interest in presenting an identity as a good student, in getting the floor often, and in avoiding reprimands by the teacher. Since he wanted to participate often in classroom discussions, he needed to speak Spanish for those public turns, but seemed to know where the teacher's limits were. We will see that Otto actually used less English than Matt but was reprimanded for it more often.

With peers

Matt exhibited the typical preference for English that I observed during peer talk in this classroom. Table 24 showed that of his peer turns, 82% were in English while only 18% were in Spanish. Despite being an L1 speaker of Spanish with fairly good oral command of the language, Matt used the least peer Spanish (his 15% of the peer Spanish corpus was slightly less than Otto's peer Spanish) and the most peer English of all four students.

Matt's Peer Spanish

Table 26 showed that the 53 times that Matt did use Spanish with peers, his turns were on task or managing tasks 81% of the time. His on task turns included saying the answers to written questions, reading aloud from a textbook, providing vocabulary requested by tablemates, and commenting on tablemates' answers. Example 104is the only turn in the corpus in which Matt responded in Spanish to a peer's English (which Carolina did 13 times), although his use of "Yeah" at the beginning of the turn and the fact that he was correcting his tablemate's Spanish summary make this turn different from Carolina's, who used Spanish to participate in a peer's English conversation.

(104)
1 [*Allison is reading José's summary*] "La guerra paró y firmaron un contrato y/
2 Matt: No. La guerra no paró.
3 José: That's what it says.
4 Matt: Yeah, la guerra paró cuando firmaron el contrato.
5 José: Oh.

Another 38% of Matt's peer Spanish was for managing tasks (examples 105 and 106). It is interesting that when Jesús did not hear him, Matt repeated himself in English (example 105, line 4).

(105) [*Students are claiming the pages of a novel that they wanted to use as the basis for their illustrations.*]
1 Jesús: Yo quiero cuarenta y nueve..
2 Matt: ¿Cincuenta y cincuenta y uno?
3 Jesús: Hm?
4 Matt: Fifty and fifty one?

(106) [*Students were deciding how many times they could vote for the best summary*]
1 Adam: ¿Quién vota para yo?
2 Matt: You can only... tú sólo puedes votar una vez.
3 José: Una vez.
4 Allison: Dos veces.
5 Jose: Who goes for una?
6 Matt: Dos. Dos. Una. Puedes votar una vez.
7 José: Yeah, but we got...
8 Adam: Matty?
9 Matt: No, you can't vote again.
10 Allison: I changed my vote.
11 Matt: No, no, you can't.
12 Allison: Revote!

Over half of Matt's Spanish peer turns (including example 106 above) were during one social studies class in January when the teacher had been visiting their table (and therefore within earshot of their language use) fairly often. I was sitting near their table that day as well, which may have further influenced the students to use Spanish. Additionally, on that day he and José had made a game out of "correcting" other students' uses of English, and four of his peer Spanish turns that day were like example 107:

(107)
1 Student: Right.
2 Matt: No se dice 'right', se dice 'es verdad' [*Laughter*].

Similarly to the other three students, Matt made just ten off task peer Spanish turns in the corpus[72] (examples 108 through 110). All but two of these were made on a day in January when both Ms. Torres and I were near his table. The range of social functions that these turns seemed to fulfill is limited. In example 108, Melissa had been insisting on Spanish use during the entire groupwork period, which may have influenced Matt to ask his question in Spanish if he expected her to offer an answer. Or perhaps he used Spanish because "Día del niño" is an element of Hispanic culture. In any case, he shifted back to English right away once he got his answer from Melissa.

(108)
1 Matt: I forgot., ¿cuándo es el día del niño?
2 Melissa: Mayo cinco.
3 Matt: Yes. I love it. We just sit for the whole day.
4 Heather: Ms. Summers said let's just sit here for the day.
5 Matt: No. You had to stay out there for the whole day. Why do you think the kindergarteners were out, no, the first graders were out there?

(109)
1 José: ¿Tú comistes el libro?
2 Matt: José comió el libro. Allison comió su *bookmark*.

(110) [*Students are referring to the color of their bookmarks*]
1 Allison: Pink power ranger.
2 Adam: Yo soy orange power ranger.
3 Matt: Tú eres loco power ranger.

Matt's Peer English

Matt used much more English (82%) than Spanish (18%) when speaking to peers, and accounted for 32% of all English peer turns in the corpus. Of these, 49% were management. Table 26 showed that 20% of Matt's peer corpus involved management, indicating that he engaged in managing activities more than the other three students. In example 111, we see the common pattern of students speaking English with each other during groupwork, switching to Spanish only when the teacher approached their table.

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[72] At 19%, Matt's off task peer Spanish appears much greater than that of the other students, but his total number of peer Spanish turns was the lowest.

(111) [*Students are deciding who will be first to read his/her summary aloud*]

1 Ms. Torres: Yo los quiero ver compartiendo.
2 Allison: [*quietly*] Matt.
3 Matt: [*quietly*] I always go.
4 Ms. Torres: [*approaches their table*] Ya es hora de compartir.
5 Matt: Yo siempre lo comparto.
6 Ms. Torres: Todos tienen que compartir, mi amor.
7 Matt: Yo siempre soy primero.
8 José: Entonces Eleanor, tú eres la primera.
[*Teacher leaves the area. Eleanor read her summary. Her tablemates applauded*]
9 Allison: Matty.
10 Matt: No, I always go. José.
11 José: Ladies first, though. And then it's Matt.
12 Matt: No. I always go.
[*Allison began reading her summary. Ms. Torres approached the table*]
13 Ms. Torres: [*Quietly to Matt:*] Yo les voy a quitar una canica porque están hablando inglés.
14 Matt: ¡Yo no hablé inglés! Yo dije "OK pues".
15 Ms. Torres: Todos estaban hablando inglés.
16 Matt: Estaban.
17 Ms. Torres: Por eso. Por estar hablando inglés, todos ustedes me deben una canica.
[*Teacher began walking away*]
18 José: ¿También Adam? [*The L1 boy with the lowest Spanish proficiency in the class*]

In example 111 we also see Matt's resistance to being chastised for using English. During the rest of the lesson, he used a good deal of peer Spanish, which may have been the cause of the table's game of "correcting" English uses (shown earlier in example 107). He seemed to be arguing that he and his tablemates *had been* speaking English, but were not anymore, and therefore should not be required to surrender a *canica*. In example 112 he also seemed anxious to avoid losing a *canica* (but not enough to stay in Spanish):

(112)
1 Ms. Torres: Me debes una canica.
2 Matt: Yo no tengo. ¡Solo tengo una! But I don't have them with me.

Examples 113 and 114 involve his using English to respond to a peer's Spanish, which he did 17 times in the corpus (Carolina did so only twice).

(113)
1 Alison: ¿Quién vota para Matty? [*Adam raised his hand*] Adam.
2 Matt: Thank you.

(114)
1 Carolina: Allison, Matty tiene uno también.
2 Matt: She's not next. There's a waiting list.

Only 14% of Matt's peer English turns were on task, as in example 115:

(115)
1 April: What's "mito"?
2 Matt: Myth is like, something... passed on, century by century, that's either Greek, or Italian, or just... Do you get what I'm saying?

32% of Matt's peer English turns were off task and, like Carolina's off task peer English, covered a wide variety of topics and functions such as discussing his Pokemon card collection, responding to a criticism (example 116), expressing resistance to school (example 117) making jokes (example 118), and positioning himself as superior to his peers (example 119). It also included slang like "dude".

(116)
1 Otto: [*Looking at Matt's drawing*] That looks funny.
2 Matt: You look funny. (*laughs*)

(117)
1 Melissa: ¡Casi tenemos música!
2 Matt: No, I don't wanna watch Annie. I don't even watch it. That's what I like about music class, I don't watch it.
3 Heater: You just play around.
4 Matt: I know.

(118) [*The class is discussing potential topics for a CAL writing assignment]*
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Quién es la persona más importante en tu vida?
2 Several students: Mi mamá.
3 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué es lo que pueden decir acerca de las mamas?

4 Matt: Como te... eyudo. No eyudo, ayudo.
5. Ms. Torres: Como ella te ayuda. ¿Cómo te ayuda, en qué, Matt?
6 Matt: En todo.
7 Ms. Torres: Todo.
8 Matt: [*Quietly to tablemates*] She doesn't put on my underwear. [*Laughter*]

(119)
[*The tape recorder sat between Delia and Matt. Delia reached out to move it closer to herself*]
Not me. Leave it there, Delia. She wants to interview me, not you. I'm smarter than you. I'm smarter than all y'all.

Like Carolina, the main difference between Matt's peer Spanish and peer English was that his peer English was more often off task (32%) than on task (14%), while his peer Spanish was on task or management 81% of the time. He managed tasks and had fun with peers almost exclusively in English.

4.6.3 Melissa

Table 27 displays Melissa's language use by topic and intelocutor.

Table 27, Melissa's language use, topic by interlocutor

Melissa	**To teacher**		**To Peers**	
Note: Totals do not equal 100% because some turns were coded "unknown" for topic	**Spanish** N=112	**English** N=15	**Spanish** N=107	**English** N= 106
On task	86% (96)	53% (7)	41% (43)	57% (60)
Management	12% (12)	40% (6)	50% (52)	17% (18)
Off task	2% (3)	7% (1)	9% (10)	26% (28)

With the teacher

Table 24 showed that Melissa's teacher turns were 88% in Spanish and 12% in English, almost as high a percentage of teacher Spanish as Carolina and slightly more than the two boys.

Melissa's Teacher English

According to Table 27, Melissa made only 15 turns to the teacher in English, accounting for just 9% of the teacher English corpus. Similarly to Matt, several of these teacher English turns were during transitions between classes when the teacher was soliciting movie titles (example 120).

(120) [*Students are suggesting movie titles.]*
1 Student: *The Pest.*
2 Otto: Yes, Ms. Torres, yes, it's funny! No bad words. It's just about this guy who's, who acts out in different ways, and then he goes and he pretend he's Chinese. Oh, I have another movie.
3 Melissa: He pretends he's Ghostbusters. It's disgusting.

Most of the rest of Melissa's public English had the function of managing an academic task; she used English with the teacher to manage tasks 40% of the time. For example, when Ms. Torres began writing on a poster, Melissa asked, "Is that the right marker?" In example 121, Melissa understood "hoja separada" (separate sheet) to mean a sheet that was not attached inside of a spiral notebook, but the teacher meant for students to start writing on a clean sheet of spiral notebook paper. In line 5 it appears that Melissa shifted to English when she got frustrated:

(121)
1 Melissa: OK, tenemos que hacerlo en un/
2 Ms. Torres: En una hoja en limpio, en una hoja separada.
3 Melissa: No, no notebook, right? *["No, no" with Spanish pronunciation*]
4 Ms. Torres: Sí, mi amor.
5 Melissa: But I thought you said/
6 Ms. Torres: Mira, Melissa... [*Teacher reexplained the instructions*]

Melissa's Teacher Spanish

Melissa's 112 teacher Spanish turns constituted 88% of her total teacher turns, a higher percentage than Matt or Otto, but accounting for just 14% of the Spanish teacher turns in the corpus. They were 86% on task (examples 122 through 126) and 12% management (example 127).

(122)
1 Ms. Torres: Las personas más importantes recibían los entierros más lujosos.
2 Melissa: Como los pirámides.
3 Ms. Torres: Como las pirámides, como los egipcios.

(123)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Saben lo que es gigantesco?
2 Melissa: Como muuuy grande.
3 Ms. Torres: Enorme.

(124)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué es la economía? Melissa.
2 Melissa: Um, como, ¿como puedes hacer dinero?

(125)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué paso al final?
2 Melissa: Que tenía un hijo.
3 Ms. Torres: La muchacha tuvo un hijo, ¿verdad?

(126)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué quiere decir con eso?
2 Melissa: Que como, um..um.. [3 sec] como ¿está cuidando a su esposa como que era una rosa blanca y se.. trata a ella lo mismo en enero y en julio?

(127)
1 Melissa: ¿Ms. Torres? Tenem... Con los marcadores que, que, tenemos que hacerlo con los marcadores del/
2 Ms. Torres: Tienes que hacerlo como *filmstrip*.

Like Carolina and Matt, Melissa sometimes incorporated an English borrowing into her public Spanish:

(128) [*Students are being asked to bring drinks and snacks on the field trip*]
¿Puede ser... puede ser *fizzy water*?

With peers

Of Melissa's peer turns, 50% were in Spanish and 50% were in English. Despite the fact that she was an L2 Spanish speaker, Melissa used a higher percentage peer Spanish than any of the other three students (at 50%, she was 8% above Carolina) and accounted for 31% of all peer Spanish turns in the data. This confirmed my early observations that she used a great deal more peer Spanish than her classmates during unsupervised groupwork.

Melissa's Peer Spanish

Melissa had the highest percent of peer talk in Spanish (50%) of all four students. Her peer Spanish was used 50% of the time to manage activities. She was similar to Matt in that her peer Spanish was more for management (examples 129 and 130) than for on task turns (example 131):

(129)
Jesús: We have to do those black parts?
Melissa: Tenemos que... para que podemos ver lo que estamos haciendo, tenemos el papel blanco.

(130) [*Melissa is looking for a black marker*]
1 Melissa: La maestra dije que podemos usar los marcadores normales. ¿Dónde está mi negro?
2 Jesus: Doesn't look like you can.
3 Melissa: Sí, pero la maestra dije que podemos. Yo no sé dónde está mi, mi negro y necesitamos el negro.
4 Jesús: How about a Sharpie? [*brand of marker*]

(131)
1 Otto: ¿Cómo dice *flowers*?
2 Melissa: Flores.

Melissa incorporated English words into her Spanish peer turns approximately as often as her peers did, such as when she warned her tablemates about the markers they were using: "Eso se va a... *smudge*". "Eso se va a, um, *erase*". She also used English to manage tasks with peers, such as when Jesús began reading aloud in Spanish, and Melissa called out, "We're not over there."

Very notably, Melissa responded in Spanish to a peer's English 47 times, much more often than the other three students. However, 79% of those turns were during one lesson in March during which Melissa made several references to the tape recorder at the group's desks. However, the other 21% of her Spanish responses to peer English turns took place on five different days, indicating that it was not an uncommon practice for her. In examples 132 through 134, we see that as her peers chatted in English, Melissa insisted on using Spanish, both before and after her peers' English turns.

(132)
1 Matt: Where's my thingy?
2 Melissa: ¿Qué?
3 Matt: You don't have to do it exactly like she did.
4 Melissa: Ya sé, pero tengo que hacerlo un poco.
5 Matt: No, podemos hacer otro... otro *board*.
6 Melissa: Tenemos que hacerlos así porque es como un... *filmstrip*.
7 Matt: Movies don't go like that!

(133)
1 Matt: Can I get a pencil?
2 Jesús: What?
3 Matt: Can I get a pencil?
4 Jesús: I don't have a pencil.
5 Matt: It's under your desk!
6 Melissa: Aquí tengo uno.
7 Heather: ¿Dónde está mío [sic]?
8 Matt: Yo te lo dejé acá, and then I dropped it somewhere. [*laughs*] It fell down because of you!

(134)
1 Jesús: Are you done? You're fast. That's because you get a hold of everything before us. That's not fair.
2 Melissa: [*Talking about a marker*] Eso no sirve.
3 Jesús: Oh cool. You messed up.
4 Melissa: No, eso no sirve.
5 Jesús: Oh, that's why it looks messed up.

Melissa requested that other students use Spanish (by saying "Español" or "Español, por favor") 10 times in this corpus and seven additional times in my fieldnotes, much more than the other three students. She also corrected another student's Spanish five times (examples 135 and 136):

(135)
1 Ms. Torres: Otto, busca el tuyo, por favor.
2 Otto: No estás en mi escritorio.
3 Ms. Torres: ¿No estás? Yo sé que yo no estoy en tu escritorio.
4 Otto: No sé... no estás.
5 Ms. Torres: Yo sé que yo no estoy en tu escritorio.

6 Melissa: No ESTÁ.

(136)
1 Matt: [*Reading aloud*] Los que construc..constructr/
2 Ms. Torres: Construyeron.
3 Matt: ...construyeron los mou../
4 Melissa: Mon-tí-cu-los.
5 Ms. Torres: Montículos.

It was interesting that Melissa sometimes mixed English into a peer exchange that she had begun in Spanish (examples 137 and 138). This may have been because the topic was management or off task, as in these two examples. In addition, her language use may have reflected a desire to fit in with her peers. Although she used a good deal of Spanish with her peers, perhaps the English that she used with them represented an investment in an identity as a friendly peer rather than as too much of a rule follower, or worse yet, a rule imposer.

(137)
1 Matt: It will come off of here.
2 Melissa: ¿Se quita de aquí? Like does it come off if you touch it?

(138)
1 Melissa: Hey. Yo voy a tener un *Playstation*.
2 Jesús: Oh, cool.
3 Melissa: Free.
4 Matt: From who?
5 Melissa: Uh, maybe. Last year, mi hermanito y yo estábamos selling chocolate bars para su baseball team, mi hermanito, y despues, y, we sold the most and so we're getting a Playstation.
6 Matt: Does it come with...what games are you going to get?

Similarly to Matt and Carolina, Melissa made ten off task comments to peers in Spanish. Two such turns were like example 117 in which she was commenting that music class (one of her favorites) was due to begin. She once commented on the unusually large number of adults in the room on a day that a substitute teacher, two teacher aides, and the researcher were there: "Hay cuatro maestros aquí [*giggled*]. Y si Ms. Torres estaba aquí, hay cinco" and another time she commented on not having finished her classwork: "Yo no terminé esto. So yo tengo que quedar para recreo! [*laughed*]." Although in example 139 she was repeating Jesús' joke, Melissa's peer Spanish (much like Carolina's and Matt's) was never for playing, teasing, or socializing[73].

(139)
1 Ms. Torres: [*Reminding students that it was Spanish time* – hora de español] ¿Qué hora es?
2 Jesus: Las nueve. [*laughter*]
3 Melissa: "¿Qué hora es? Las nueve!"

Melissa initiated more peer turns in Spanish than her classmates, often responded to their English in Spanish, and consistently stayed on-task. This may have resulted in being perceived as a "lame" to some degree. When in example 134 Jesús was glad that Melissa "messed up," this may have indicated some negativity from her tablemates, and similar examples will be presented in her peer English. However, Melissa also frequently giggled at her peers' jokes and did use English for 50% of her peer comments, which seemed an attempt to fit in.

Melissa's Peer English

Melissa's peer English constituted just 14% of the entire peer English corpus. Her peer English was similar to her peer Spanish in that a great percentage was on task (57%) and management (17%). Similarly to Carolina and Matt, the main difference between Melissa's peer English and peer Spanish was that her peer English was much more often off task (26%) than her peer Spanish (9%), such as telling Carlos that his tag was sticking out of his shirt or discussing the *trabajos* that needed to be done. Her peer English sometimes carried out the same functions as her peer Spanish, such as announcing that music class was due to begin, claiming crayons and pens, indicating the correct location during a read-aloud activity, warning her tablemates that a pen was going to smudge, and managing on task activity and materials (examples 140 and 141):

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[73] Although it should be recalled that Melissa did little playing, teasing, or socializing in either language.

(140) [*Carlos is whistling*]
Melissa: Stop it. I'm trying to write.

(141)
1 Melissa: Heather, um, sorry, but I don't, want to let you borrow that, because I don't want you to lose the top like you, lost yours.
2 Heather: No, I don't want to borrow it anyway.

However, like Carolina and Matt, Melissa's peer English was more varied in that it included references to adolescent themes such as movies and boogers and the functions of joking and slang, using language like "Yeah right," "Just kidding," "cool," "whatever," and "crabby" (examples 142 through 146).

(142)
1 Melissa: Ooh, this does not look good. Esto no se ve bien.
2 Jesús: Grab another sheet and start all over again.
3 Melissa: Huh huh, yeah right.

(143)
1 Jesús: What is this stuff? Somebody put boogers on mine.
2 Matt: Where?
3 Jesús: Right here.
Melissa: You probably put it on there. Just kidding.

(144)
1 Jesús: Should I draw fire?
2 Melissa: That would be cool, yeah.
3 Jesús: Here - fire.
4 Melissa: Cool! Now draw like ice or something. And then plants. Or snow or something.

(145)
1 Melissa: [*Referring to the researcher's tape recorder*] I want it to be on my desk today.
2 Otto: No, because my desk is the center of everything, it's the highest.
3 Melissa: Whatever.

(146) [*Melissa had not completed her homework the night before because her father had her backpack. A classmate was collecting homework and reminded her to hand in both parts*]
1 Melissa: I didn't even do the other one!
2 Heather: [*Slightly annoyed at Melissa's tone*] Oh, sorry.
3 Melissa: Sorry, I'm kind of crabby this morning.
4 Carlos: You're always crabby.

Although Melissa most often responded to her peers' English in English, we have seen that she responded to a peer's English in Spanish 47 times. Only once in the corpus she responded to a peer's Spanish in English (example 147).

(147)
1 Heather: Cincuenta y cuatro y cincuenta y cinco.
2 Melissa: That's what I'm doing.

However, I could not identify a clear pattern of the situations in which Melissa insisted on Spanish versus when she used English.

Some of Melissa's turns presented thus far illustrate her intense academic focus: quieting other students, requesting that they use Spanish, concern over the proper way to carry out a task, and resistance to sharing materials with classmates (which was corroborated one day by Heather after Melissa did not share something with a classmate: "She's been like that since second grade."). These examples also indicate that Jesús, Heather and Carlos sometimes positioned Melissa as an undesirable tablemate. In example 148, Jesús responded negatively to Melissa's increasing enthusiasm as the time for music class approached. It is interesting that she shifted to English, perhaps to mitigate being positioned as a "lame" who was too interested in official school activities:

(148)
1 Melissa: Up - ¡es hora de música!
2 Jesús: What is your problem?
3 Melissa: I don't know! [*giggles*]

In Chapter 5, I will expand on the observations that Melissa received a lot of familial support for her Spanish acquisition as well as a great deal of praise for speaking it, and had also developed a strong identification with her uncle's family in Mexico. This may be what prompted her to swim against the peer English tide; she commented that the "whole point' of being at the Inter-American was to learn Spanish. In addition to her investment in her identity as a Spanish speaker, she was also an extremely meticulous student who promptly completed all assignments well and who was very concerned with following rules, including those of classroom language use.

4.6.4 Otto

Table 28 presents Otto's language use according to topic and interlocutor.

Table 28, Otto's language use, topic by interlocutor

Otto	**To teacher**		**To Peers**	
Note: Totals do not equal 100% because some turns were coded "unknown" for topic	**Spanish** N=216	**English** N=89	**Spanish** N=65	**English** N= 223
On task	95% (205)	91% (80)	77% (50)	46% (103)
Management	2% (5)	7% (5)	14% (8)	16% (35)
Off task	3% (6)	2% (2)	9% (6)	38% (83)

With the teacher

Table 24 showed that Otto's teacher turns were 71% in Spanish and 29% in English. He used the lowest percentage of teacher Spanish, although he accounted for 27% of the corpus of teacher Spanish. He also had the highest percentage of teacher English (accounting for fully 52% of the corpus) of all four students, suggesting that he was unable and/or uninterested in conforming to the language use rules of the classroom.

Otto's Teacher English

Table 28 shows that, similarly to the other three students, Otto's teacher English was 98% on task or management. Like the others, he sometimes used English to provide vocabulary translations or expansions, offer answers to the teacher's questions, make comments on the material being studied, and ask questions. In examples 149 through 154 we can see Ms. Torres' different reactions to his public English. In example 149 his English turn was uptaken without comment:

(149)
(3) [*The class was discussing the barter system used by indigenous tribes*]
1 Ms. Torres: Porque si no lo necesitaba, pues no iba a cambiar por lo que ella quería, ¿verdad?
2 Otto: They used their own sign language.
3 Ms. Torres: Sí.

In examples 150 and 151, his English turns were either not heard or were ignored:

(150)
1 Ms. Torres: El hijo era de puro maíz.
2 Otto: I thought she was gonna turn into a god.
3 Ms. Torres: Entonces...

(151)
1 Ms. Torres: Los mexicanos rinden homenaje a los muertos. ¿Cómo rinden homenaje?
2 Otto: Light up candles.
3 Student: ¿Con el pan?
4 Ms. Torres: Con el pan.

In example 152 his English use was reprimanded:

(152)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Por qué el señor puede tener rabia en sus ojos?
2 Otto: [*3 seconds silence*] Cause he's old?
3 Ms. Torres: ¿Carolina? ¿Porque es viejo? Y me encanta como hablas en inglés durante español.
4 Otto: Porque él, es, um....
5 José: Viejo.
6 Otto: Viejo.

And in examples 153 and 154, the teacher recast his English into Spanish:

(153)
1 Ms. Torres: Y hacían trueque.
2 Otto: Like the pioneers.
3 Ms. Torres: ¡Como los pioneros! ¡Me encanta que hagan esas conexiones!

(154)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué mensaje ustedes aprendieron de esta historia?
2 Otto: You shouldn't beg?
3 Ms. Torres: ¿Que no deben de estar pidiendo siempre comida?

In example 155, line 3, Otto attempted to recast his question into Spanish but apparently gave up, while in example 156 he used the word *mensaje* in Spanish, perhaps in an attempt to conform to the language rules, but perhaps also because the class had been using the Spanish term throughout the lesson:

(155)
1 Otto: But why would they turn the pot over, Ms. Torres?
2 Ms. Torres: ¿Perdón?
3 Otto: ¿Por qué... they're turning the pot over?
4 Ms. Torres: Porque le ponen.... Para no estar ellos deteniendo la olla allí.
5 Otto: No, I say, why would they spin the pot over?
6 Ms. Torres: No, no lo están *spinning*.

(156)
1 Otto: I don't get the *mensaje*.
2 Ms. Torres: Lo acabamos de hablar....

Several of Otto's teacher English turns took place during the period that Ms. Torres solicited movie titles and other information regarding the class field trip. He also used English publicly to discuss classroom *trabajos* (example 157) and to name school practices (example 158).

(157)
1 Ms. Torres: Otto, tú también has sido mensajero.
2 Otto: No, the only thing I did was the cafeteria... the *almuerzo* y the *pizarrón*, which I didn't do all the time.

(158)
1 Ms. Torres: Todos tienen que estar leyendo esto en silencio.
2 Otto: Silent reading.

Some of Otto's public English use involved the management of academic tasks, such as offering to turn off the overhead projector when Ms. Torres had finished using it, and as shown in examples 159 through 163:

(159)
1 Ms. Torres: [*to Lázaro*] Página sesenta y seis.
2 Otto: The top.
(160)
1 Ms. Torres: Otto, yo te aconsejo que tú estés escribiendo así. Versos de lo que se te venga a la mente.
2 Otto: [*referring to a piece of paper in his notebook*] Can I rip this out?

(161)
1 Ms. Torres: De alli ustedes se van a guiar para escribir su poema... deja ver si tengo aquí...
2 Otto: It's gonna be for homework, right?
3 Ms. Torres: No, quiero que estén trabajando en ello.

(162)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Dónde dejé mi libro?
2 Otto: On your desk. [*3 seconds*] It's on your desk, Ms. Torres.

(163)
[*Students had just listened to a guest speak about immigration issues (in Spanish). No one had written down the name of her organization.*]
1 Ms. Torres: Eso deberian de haber escrito atrás.
2 Otto: I know, but she was saying it fast.

Like Matt, Otto often used English when arguing with the teacher:

(164)
1 Student: ¡Yo hice mi tarea!
2 Otto: Era...yo hici pero/
3 Ms. Torres: Si no está aquí, es lo mismo como si no lo hubieran hecho.
4 Otto: I did, cause you can even, I was telling Heath...telling Moisés about it, cause his mom called me.

Otto's Teacher Spanish

At 71%, Otto's teacher turns were less often in Spanish than the other three students (who averaged 87%), but he actually accounted for 27% of the corpus of teacher Spanish turns and made more public Spanish turns than Melissa or Matt. His public Spanish involved on task lesson-related comments or questions 95% of the time (examples 165 through 167) and management (example 168). In these examples, we can see Otto's attempts to conform to the language rules.

(165)
1 Ms. Torres: Le empezó a cambiar el cuerpo.
2 Otto: [*to tablemates*] She's gonna turn into a god. [*publicly*] Oh, yo pienso que va a pasar.

(166)
1 Ms. Torres: Esas son las vasijas.
2 Otto: Yo veo un vasija en el tienda.
3 Ms. Torres: O en la tienda.
4 Otto: Un mexicano tienda.
5 Ms. Torres: En la tienda mexicana.
6 Otto: La tienda mexicana. A supermall.

(167)
1 Ms. Torres: Le echaban más tierra. Y después.... ¿Para qué? ¿Para qué le echaban/
2 Otto: Para otra persona.
3 Ms. Torres: Para preparar la montañita, el montículo, para otra persona si se moría.

(168)
1 Ms. Torres: [*passing out books*] Yo se los paso ahora, no importa que no sea su número.
2 Otto: Yo ya tengo mi número.

Like Matt, Otto made several off task public Spanish turns asking permission to go to the bathroom. In example 169 he used "la baño" instead of "el baño" but did not appear to understand the teacher's correction (the same thing had happened in example 135):

(169)
1 Otto: ¿Yo puede ir a la baño?
2 Ms. Torres: A la baño, no. Para el baño, sí.
3 Otto: ¿Yo puede ir para la baña?
4 Ms. Torres: A la baño, no.
5 Matt: A el.
6 Otto: ¿Puedo?
7 Ms. Torres: Sí.

When Otto was caught speaking English, he usually denied it. An exception is found in example 170:

(170)
[*Delia had the floor. Otto was talking quietly to Melissa.*]
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Por que tú estás hablando en inglés?]
2 Otto: Yo, keep on, um, forg...olvidando.

It may be that the teacher caught Otto and not Melissa because his voice was louder. However, since Otto appeared to have a classroom identity as a student who went off task and used English too much (which will be explored in sections 4.7 and in Chapter 5), Ms. Torres may have been predisposed to reprimanding him.

Despite his frequent English use, Otto did sometimes show investment in an identity as someone who followed the language rules. In example 171, Ms. Torres was chastising the students for talking too much and not working enough. She had not mentioned English use, but Otto immediately announced that he had been speaking Spanish:

(171)
1 Ms. Torres: Yo veo esta mesa hablando demasiado y no los veo trabajando.
2 Otto: Yo estaba diciendo en español.

On several occasions, Otto appeared to want to tease his classmates by telling the teacher that they had been using English. For example, when Ms. Torres said, "Carolina, me debes una canica por hablar en inglés. Y Jesús," Otto added with a grin, "Matty también."

Like Matt, seven of Otto's teacher Spanish turns resulted from the teacher's request that he recast his English turns (examples 172 through 174).

(172)
1 Otto: Wait, Jesús, I have another homework.
2 Ms. Torres: Ótto.
3 Otto: Jesús, yo tengo un otro tarea.

(173)
1 Otto: I'll do the *pizarrón* cause I'm the one who mostly stays after.
2 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué?
3 Otto: Yo va a hacer la pizarrón.
4 Ms. Torres: ¿Por qué?
5 Otto: Porque quiero hacer un trabajo.

(174)
1 Matt: Ooh, can I finish?
2 Otto: Could I... we don't... I'm not done, Ms./
3 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué?
4 Otto: Nosotros no terminé, yo, el *culture Chinese*. Necesitas que terminar el *holidays* y *traditions*.

With peers

Of Otto's peer turns, 23% were in Spanish and 77% were in English. He accounted for 19% of the corpus of peer Spanish turns, which was actually more peer Spanish than Matt (whose peer Spanish use was 15%)[74] but less than the girls.

Otto's Peer Spanish

Like the other three students, Otto's peer Spanish was overwhelmingly on task (77%) and management (14%). It is interesting that 26 of Otto's 65 peer Spanish turns (40% of them) were private comments made to peers during teacher fronted lessons, when there was a greater chance that the teacher could hear him than during groupwork. However, many of his private peer comments during teacher fronted lessons were in fact in English. Several of his peer Spanish turns were quiet repetitions of what others said, which may have been a strategy to produce Spanish:

(175)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Quiénes eran las personas importantes, Adam?
2 Adam: Los jefes.
3 Otto: [*quietly*] Los jefes.

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[74] However, Matt's Spanish production within his numerous codeswitched turns were not included in the corpus.

(176)
1 Ms. Torres: Tarea de español.
2 Otto: [*quietly*] La tarea de español.

(177)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué otras cosas hacemos de maíz?
2 Carlos: Tortillas.
3 Otto: [*quietly*] Tortillas.

In example 178, he repeated himself in Spanish (line 7) at the teacher's request. In line 10, he made a quiet comment in Spanish to his tablemates that seemed intended to save face after he had been silenced by the teacher.

(178) [*Students are comparing Native Americans to other indigenous groups*]

1 Student: ¿Como los mayas?
2 Ms. Torres: Exacto, me gusta cuando hacen conexión/
3 Student: Los taínos.
4 Ms. Torres: O los taínos, ¡exacto! Yeah!
5 Otto: They're doing that in second grade.
6 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué?
7 Otto: Ellos están haciendo esto en segundo grado. I just saw them.
8 José: Tú los vistes.
9 Ms. Torres: ¿Puedo continuar?
10 Otto: Sí. [*Quietly to tablemates*] Parecen a las. [*Probably trying to say, "They look like them"*].

On two occasions Otto made connections between vocabulary words and popular wrestlers and announced them to his tablemates. In example 179, when he wanted to announce it publicly, he shifted to Spanish (for at least part of his turn) and then back to English for peer talk:

(179) [*Students have asked what "hacer un ceño" means (make a funny face)]*
1 Ms. Torres: Haciendo como mala cara. El ceño es los visajes que tú haces con los ojos.
2 Carolina: Oh, como poner una, una XX?
[*Heather demonstrates by making a face*]
3 Ms. Torres: Así, mira, ella esta haciendo un ceño. ¿Quién más puede hacer un ceño?
4 Otto: ¿Qué es? ¿Qué es un ceño?
5 Ms. Torres: Con las cejas/
6 Otto: [*To tablemates*] Oh, like the Rock. José, the Rock.
7 Otto: Yo sé una persona que puede hacer esto, but all the way up.
8 Ms. Torres: Yo conozco a una persona.

9 Otto: [*public*] Yo conozco un persona. Es un wrestler. [*Laughter at table*]
10 Otto: [*To tablemates*] He goes like... [*Makes a face*] I don't know what he does.

During groupwork, Otto's peer Spanish sometimes requested vocabulary items, using "¿Cómo dice...?" instead of "¿Cómo se dice...?": "¿Cómo dice *on top*?" ¿Cómo dice *flowers*?" "¿Cómo dice *paint*?" In other peer Spanish turns, Otto asked questions about or commented on the task that the students were supposed to be carrying out. Otto enjoyed providing answers both publicly and to his tablemates during groupwork. In one example, he was instructing Heather to use the past tense of "tiene", which he offered as "tení."

Only two times in the corpus did Otto request that a peer use Spanish. Both times were during the same class period when he saw the teacher approaching his group (although she quickly moved on and seemed unconcerned with their language use):

(180)
1 Otto: Did you see "Who wants to marry a multimillionaire"?
2 Sharon [Spanish L1]: Did you see "Who wants to be a millionaire" yesterday?
3 Otto: No, it's "Who wants to be... who wants to marry."
4 Sharon: No, I didn't see that one. Did you see on channel seven, "Who wants to be a millionaire"?
5 Otto: He won the million dollars.
6 Sharon: He was about to. Man, he's dumb, right? He shoulda, um, he shoulda advanced. It was this question, I don't know/
7 Otto: [*Saw the teacher approaching*] ¡Español!
8 José [Spanish L1]: Then you didn't see it. You have to know the question.
9 Otto: ¡Español!

Following line 9, José shifted to Spanish for one turn, then went back to English. Sharon did switch to Spanish for several more off task turns about the TV show.

Similarly to the other three students, Otto had only six off task peer Spanish turns. Two are contained in example 181 (lines 3 and 5), which happened to take place on the same day as example 186 when Otto seemed particularly aware of the teacher's presence:

(181)
1 Otto: José, I'm left handed. I'm left and right handed.
2 José [Spanish L1]: Write "peligroso".
3 Otto: How do you spell "pelig/"?
4 José: Like this, like this. [*Writes the word, shows it to Otto. Otto copies the word with both hands*]
5 Otto: See? I wrote it with my left. Let me write it with my right.
[Students are quietly writing; 6 seconds sileince]
6 Otto: Eso es como escribe "peligrosas" con el.. *right*. Eso es como escribe "peligrosos" con el *left*. José, mira, "peligrosas".
7 Ms. Torres: [*To entire class*] Estoy escuchando a muchos niños hablar inglés.
8 Otto: José, mira.

In another off task peer Spanish example, he and Melissa were saying the date in Spanish into the tape recorder as it lay on their desk. Two more took place one morning that the class returned from chorus rehearsal. The group sang two songs in Spanish: a Cuban lullaby called "Duerme, negrito" and a song that was written by the city-wide chorus director, a non-native Spanish speaker who described it as a nonsense song with the lyrics: "La gente en la China, le gusta bailar son. Por eso yo me voy para la China." Like other students, Otto often returned from chorus practice singing this song.

Therefore, similarly to the other three students, Otto's peer Spanish did not seem to carry out a great variety of social functions. It was mainly on task and sometimes seemed motivated only by a desire to avoid teacher reprimand.

Otto's Peer English

Otto's peer English was 46% on task and 16% management, much like the other three students. Many of these turns were made privately to peers during teacher fronted lessons (examples 182 through 185) although most of them were during groupwork (example 186):

(182) [*Students were guessing the title of a story*]
1 Ms. Torres: Se llama "La mujer hambrienta".
2 Otto: I was close.

(183)
1 Carlos: El círculo de la vida.
2 Ms. Torres: Es como el círculo de la vida, perfecto, Carlos.
3 Otto: Mother nature.

(184) [*Students were saying rhymes they found in a poem*]
1 Otto:"Tren" y "bien".
2 José: You already said that!
3 Otto: [*Quietly, smiling*] That's the only thing I know.

(185)
1 Ms. Torres: Aquí la cazuela, porque está cocinando. So está cocinando, no tenían estufa.
Otto: [*To José*] Just like in the movie *Bulldog*. They're roasting him.

(186)
1 Jesús: [*Thinking he had a black marker*] Oh, god,.this is blue!
2 Otto: It's blue! No, it does work. Let me show you how to do it. You go like this. [*Attempting to write on Jesús' transparency sheet*]
3 Jesús: Try it on yours, Otto.
[*Matt laughs*]
4 Otto: No, trust me.

Example 186 also reflects Otto's reputation as a jokester. Based on my observations and impressions of him, a very likely scenario would have been that if Jesús had allowed Otto to try out the marker on his transparency sheet and ruined it, Otto would have laughed and gone back to his desk. This did not mean that Otto did not have friends, or that other boys did not act similarly, but Otto seemed to be particularly prone to such behavior.

Sometimes during groupwork it became evident that Otto had not understood the material. It was typical of him to deny this or pass it off as someone else's fault, as in example 187:

(187) [*The class had been discussing "monticulos" (burial mounds) for a week*]
1 Otto: Carlos, what are *montículos*?
2 Melissa: What?! You don't know what it is?
[*Otto shakes head "No"*]
3 Carlos: Jesus Christ! They're like mountains where they bury/
4 Otto: [*to Melissa*] That's what I asked you and you said no.

At other times he did understand the material and seemed glad to explain it to a tablemate:

(188)
1 Heather: They would put stuff around them/
2 Otto: Paint them. No, they'd paint them, then they'd put stuff around them at the same time.
3 Heather: Wait, when a person died, they would, um, se quemaban/
4 Otto: They would paint them red, then put 'em in a house, burn the house down, then put dirt, and then do it again.

Otto had the greatest number of off task English turns of the four students (but was only three turns ahead of Matt). Like the other three students, he used English for slang like "cool," to refer to movies and television shows, to imitate a sports announcer, and to tease and fight with peers (examples 189 through 191):

(189)
1 Heather: Like Britney Spears.
2 Otto: You like her?
3 Heather: No.
4 Otto: Yeah you do.
5 Heather: No I don't!

(190) [*José stood up and threw a piece of paper into the garbage from a distance*]
Otto: [*Imitating a sports announcer*] Tennessee goes for it! Tennessee wins!

(191)
1 Sharon: Otto, stop it!
2 Otto: That's what you do to me.
3 Sharon: I don't go like this. [*Shakes table*]
4 Otto: Yeah you do, see, you're doing it right now. Yeah, you do that. See? You just did it!
5 Sharon: I was just crossing my legs.
6 Otto: Me too.

Otto responded to a peer's Spanish in English eight times. This is actually fewer than the number of times that Matt responded to a peer's Spanish in English, but may have been because students directed less Spanish to Otto than to Matt.

In summary, although Otto used more English overall than the other three students, his peer English was similar to theirs in that it was used for a wider variety of functions. I will suggest in section 4.10 that Otto did not receive much home support for his Spanish development and had little need to invest in the language, for he did not identify with Spanish-speaking people or contexts. As mentioned in Chapter 3, his Spanish proficiency was lower than that of the other three students.

4.6.5 Analysis

Students' language use with the teacher was fairly uniform. They chose Spanish 83% of the time or greater except for Otto (71%) and all four students' comments to the teacher were on task an average of 92% of the time. Since students' peer language use was more varied and displayed interesting trends, it will be described in greater detail. Table 29 displays the percent of peer English and Spanish that fulfilled each function, while Table 30 shows the percentage of language use made for each topic.

Table 29, Peer turns by language and topic, percent of language total

	Peer English	Peer Spanish
On task	40% (294)	56% (196)
Management	25% (181)	35% (120)
Off task	35% (253)	9% (32)
Total	100% (738)	100% (348)

Table 30, Peer turns by language and topic, percent of topic total

	Peer on task	Peer management	Peer off task
Spanish	40% (196)	60% (120)	11% (32)
English	60% (294)	40% (181)	89% (253)
Total	100% (490)	100% (301)	100% (285)

Examining the students' language output according to interlocutor and topic in Table 29 reveals that their peer English was more often off task (35%) than was their peer Spanish (9%). Another way to see this in Table 30 is that their peer off task comments were made in English 89% of the time and in

Spanish only 11%. That the students greatly preferred English for their off task comments lends support to Tarone & Swain's (1995) suggestion that dual immersion classrooms exhibit signs of diglossia. Table 29 shows that their peer Spanish overall was only slightly more often for official functions (on task 56% + management 35% = 91%) than was their peer English (on task 40% + management 25% = 85%), and Table 30 shows that peer on task and peer management turns overall exhibited fairly similar language use (40% or 60% in either language).

By examining the content of students' peer turns in more detail, I saw that they used English for a greater variety of referents and social purposes. While I did not conduct a thorough discourse analysis using predefined categories, I did identify the functions and topics summarized in Table 31[75].

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[75] Broner (2000) used the peer English categories *TV and radio programs, movies, holidays, comics/cartoons, children's games, objects such as Beanie Babies, music, TV commercials, pretend play with voice imitations,* and *imitations of stereotypical accents.*

Table 31, Students' off task peer English (categories and examples)

Movies During academic classes: *Bulldog, Chuckie, Chuckie's Bride*. Titles were solicited on 5/4; when talking about movies, students used English.	**TV shows** "Who wants to be a millionaire" "Reese's"	**Popular culture** Pokemon, Power Rangers, Calvin & Hobbes cartoon book, Sony Playstation,
Music/radio stations Britney Spears, Savage Garden, B96, Santana, The Beat, OJ.	**Addresses & phone numbers** "You live by Albany [Street]?" "Hey, Matt, what's your phone number?"	**Activities outside of school** "I like going to bed at nine o'clock." "I watch the news" Great America ("I've been on every ride like three times.") "Have you been to St. Louis?" "Of course. Everybody's white. I like the arch." "What did she give you? She left the price on it!" Laser tag
Other classes "I hope we have gym outside." "Time for lunch"	**Computers** "You could print it autoshutdown. Once it's done printing, it will shut down."	**Fighting/arguing** "You keep kicking me." "Stop doing that!" "Be like that." "Fine, I will." "Be quiet!"
Anti-school "That's what I like about music class, I don't even watch it." " I don't need no schoolwork. Buswork, that's all know." "I would say, oh, my tummy hurts." "Oh, my head hurts. I don't care. Four, five more weeks and school's over."	**Sports** "Tennessee goes for it! Tennessee wins!" Wrestlers: The Rock, Vince McMahon	**Teasing/sarcasm** "Delia, you sat at the last seat. There was a hole in your seat. And it went faster. [*Laughter*]" "I dare you." "I know that, I just found out." "Wow, finally." "Boogers, where? You probably put it on there. Just kidding." "You like her." "No I don't." "Yeah you do."
Playing "José, I'm stuck to the chair." "Don't do it, don't do it."	**Slang** Crabby, gimme, gonna, I don't wanna, be like that, cool, that's dumb, dude, boogers, whatever, 'member? [for "remember"]	**Other** "Ms. Solis had a baby." "Your tag is sticking out" "You got something in your hair." "Oh my god."

Fifteen categories of referents were identified for students' off task peer English. Their off task peer Spanish, on the other hand, carried out a much more limited range of functions (thus not requiring a table): Otto sang the Spanish chorus song; Matt referred to the Power Rangers and to the *día del niño*; Carolina asked Eleanor about what pets she used to have and once commented with surprise that she had not noticed that she was being filmed by the researcher. Melissa used off task peer Spanish to mention an upcoming music class, to comment on the number of adults in the room, to repeat another students' joke, and to announce that she had to stay in for recess. It might be said that Matt and José played in Spanish on the day they "corrected" their tablemates' English production. Significantly, there were no references to popular culture, TV, or movies, nor any fighting, teasing, or slang in Spanish. These findings are similar to those of Parker et al. (1995), who found that Spanish was never used for social interactions during 51 recorded exchanges in an immersion classroom.

Broner (2000) compared the number of references made to "Anglo culture outside of the class" in English and Spanish and found 12 English categories (TV and radio programs, movies, holidays, comics/cartoons, children's games, objects such as Beanie Babies, music, TV commercials, pretend play with voice imitations, and imitations of stereotypical accents) but only four Spanish categories (places, school activities/games, holidays/songs and pretend play with voice imitations). She noted that "...although there were some cultural references made in the L2 [Spanish], none of these seemed to include a pre-adolescent theme." (2000:235). Of all the cultural references made in Spanish by Broner's students, none referred to Hispanic themes, quite possibly because when students referred to non-school topics they were speaking about issues that were relevant to their lives, and "obviously, these children do not have access to activities, music, etc. outside of class in the L2" (2000:236). In my study, all preadolescent themes referred to Anglo culture, perhaps because in many ways it was the prevailing culture outside of the classroom. That is, despite having L1 Spanish speakers who were surely exposed to Latino cultural references to some degree, and despite the Hispanic-oriented curriculum, students made almost all of their off task references to Anglo culture. Although Broner (2000) did not categorize the functions of the students' speech, she found that all of their slang took place in students' L1.

The functions of the students' peer English versus their peer Spanish can be compared to other research. As mentioned in the review of literature, Liu (1994) compared the teacher and peer interactions of "Bob," an ESL boy, during kindergarten and first grade and found that Bob let the teacher take the conversational initiative and that his language with her encoded a small range of functions using simple sentence structure. His peer interactions, however, covered a much wider range of functions including criticisms, commands, arguments, and insults. Tarone & Swain wrote that "Unlike children in an immersion program, Bob did have the opportunity to learn peer-peer vernacular in his L2 because he was surrounded by native speakers" and suggested that "If immersion students could say in their L2 the sorts of things Bob and his friends say in this conversation, we believe they would" (1995:171-2).

In the present study, Spanish L2 students were in fact surrounded by Spanish L1 students, yet even the Spanish L1 students did not use the pre-adolescent vernacular in Spanish in this corpus. It is unclear whether Carolina and Matt (Spanish L1 speakers) actually knew how to say in Spanish the slang terms they used in English. Even had these students known the Spanish equivalents, we can only speculate whether any of them would have actually used Spanish for their off task and management comments. The present data and my observations indicate that they greatly preferred English. Even Melissa seemed to succumb to pressure to use English with her peers.

Therefore, this dual immersion classroom exhibited in a kind of diglossia in which Spanish was used almost exclusively for academic purposes and English was used for peer social interactions (cf. Tarone & Swain 2000). However, this classroom did not appear to be entirely diglossic, because English was used for academic purposes, even during these Spanish lessons. 17% of the on task teacher turns were in English, while 40% of peer English turns were on task and another 25% were for management. Since Ms. Torres also taught English lessons, students were accustomed to speaking English with her for academic lessons. Spanish, therefore, was not the only "on task" language in this classroom.

Tarone & Swain (1995) emphasized the primarily social function of peer interactions in locating themselves in a hierarchy and Norton (2000) proposed that the overriding purpose of social interactions is for people to construct and present an image of who they are. Carrying out social, off task, or management functions in Spanish may have marked students as a "lame" in this classroom. For example, we have seen that Melissa may have suffered a certain degree of ostracism for her intense, individualistic work habits and her enthusiasm for music classes, which may have been exacerbated by her peer Spanish use. She spoke to her peers 50% of the time in Spanish, and 50% of those Spanish turns were for managing tasks. This may have led to a perception of her as a bossy, Spanish-using, non-groupmember, which her incorporation of English may have been intended to mitigate.

Tarone & Swain argued that "The need to perform the social functions is far greater to the children's social identity than the need to stay in the L2 (and look like a dweeb) when they have and share the L1 style they need" (1995:169). This seemed to be the case for Matt and Otto, but the girls' language use do not entirely support this argument (nor did those of Broner's (2000) student "Marvin"). In the case of Melissa, it seemed that the identity she sought to promote was precisely one of a Spanish speaker. That is, her investment in an identity as a Spanish speaker and as a serious student often outweighed any needs to perform social functions like playing or talking about adolescent themes. The authors suggested that interviewing immersion students about their language use may offer important insights. This study will report on the results of student, parent, and teacher interviews in Chapter 5.

4.7 Gender

Students' language use with each type of interlocutor supports the trend (e.g. Tables 8, 11 and 21) that the girls used more Spanish than the boys regardless of L1, particularly during talk directed to peers. Table 32 shows that regardless of L1, the girls averaged more Spanish than the boys both with the teacher and especially with peers.

Table 32, Interlocutor by gender (averages from percentages reported in Table 24)

	To Teacher		To Peers	
	Spanish	**English**	**Spanish**	**English**
Girls	90%	9%	46%	54%
Boys	77%	23%	21%	80%

Note: Totals do not equal 100% because these are averages of pairs of students' percentages

The girls averaged 13% more Spanish with the teacher than did the boys (90%-77%), but it should be recalled that Otto's 71% brought down the boys' average (Matt used Spanish with the teacher 83% of the time). The girls used Spanish with peers 25% more often than the boys (46%-21%). No other studies of immersion classroom language use have correlated gender with language use [76].

Section 4.1.5 offered some interpretations on why the girls used more Spanish overall than the boys: these two girls may have been more willing to follow the classroom language rules because they found it advantageous to their identities as good students. Their Spanish use with peers, when there is less risk of being caught by the teacher for using English, may be an even clearer indicator of their willingness to follow the classroom language rules. Although this observation is not quantifiable, the girls in this classroom also tended to be more polite and "acceptable" to the teacher. For example, when suggesting movie titles, boys suggested horror movies (that the teacher did not accept) and titles such as "How my teacher ruined my life" (which met with laughter from classmates and a surprised reaction from Ms. Torres). The girls offered more tame films such as romantic comedies that tended to be accepted by the teacher. Boys said, "Oh, I hate that movie" whereas girls resisted classmates' suggestions more calmly by saying, "Nooooo." Although the two boys were not off task considerably more often than the girls (17% versus the girls' 13%), they argued more often with other students and with the teacher.

Other research suggests that girls tend to be more acceptable to teachers. In Toohey's (2000) case study of six ESL students in a kindergarten classroom, the teacher usually judged the girls' demeanor as appropriate because they were quiet on demand and their speech volume was low; "Like many schoolgirls, they were seen by their teacher... as 'behaving' appropriately" (2000:67). As discussed in the literature review, both Willett (1995) McKay & Wong (1995) found that girl focal students managed to construct identities as successful students, but the boys were often perceived as rebellious and less skilled. Although other case studies in school contexts have illustrated that girls (particularly adolescents) can be just as rebellious as boys (Locke Davidson 1996; Eckert 2000), it may be that elementary school-age girls tend to be more obedient than boys. Ms. Torres did not consider either Otto or Matt to have serious behavioral problems, but if it is true that boys tend to be more rambunctious in class, it may follow that in a dual immersion context they choose to flout the language rules more often than girls.

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[76] Broner (2000) found no such correlations between language use and gender. When speaking to adults, all three children in her study used over 98% Spanish. With peers, it was not gender but the personal characteristics of Marvin that led him to use 88% peer Spanish while the other two students, one girl and one boy, used 55% and 48% peer Spanish respectively. The girl used slightly more Spanish than the boy, but the author did not suggest any gender-related explanation; in fact, she stated that her study "did not seek to study language use differences among girls and boys" (Broner 2000:167).

4.8 Selectedness

Students' turns directed to the teacher could be selected or unselected. A selected turn was preceded by the teacher calling out the student's name or by nodding towards them, indicating that they could speak (*selected initial*) or when they continued a second turn after they had already been selected (*selected continued*). Selected turns could be voluntary, when the student had bid for the floor either verbally or by raising her/his hand, or involuntary when they had not. It seemed to me that the teacher selected students involuntarily in order to bring them back into the lesson when they had not been paying attention or were talking disruptively. In unselected turns, the student shouted out an answer without being selected to speak. As mentioned in chapter 3, students sometimes spoke to the teacher non-publicly, that is, during groupwork when they left their tables to talk to her or when she approached their tables. These turns were almost entirely voluntary and unselected, so they will be grouped with data on voluntary selected turns.

When examining language use for selectedness, I suspected that students would use a higher percentage of Spanish when they had been selected to speak (either voluntarily or involuntarily) than if they had shouted out an answer, because if a student put the effort into bidding and was selected by the teacher, s/he was being granted the right to hold the floor publicly and might feel more pressure to conform to the language rules by using Spanish. If the teacher called on the student to speak involuntarily, s/he might feel a similar public pressure to use Spanish, particularly if the turn felt like a reprimand. But if the student shouted out freely, s/he might not feel the need to be as careful in using the official language of the lesson.

The results displayed in Table 33, partially confirmed these ideas.

Table 33, Selectedness

Turns directed to the teacher N=966[77]	**Selected** N=124 (13%)		**Unselected (shout out)** N=842 (87%)
	Voluntary N=97	Involuntary N=27	Voluntary N=842
Spanish	96% (93)	74% (20)	81% (681)
English	4% (4)	26% (7)	19% (161)

Most turns in the corpus (87%) were unselected (shouted out) and most of the selected turns were voluntary (97 turns out of 124 selected turns = 78%). Of the 97 voluntary selected turns, fully 96% were in Spanish. Only 4 voluntary selected turns were in English – three of these were movie titles and one was the word "Yeah" in a continued turn by Matt.

Of the 27 involuntary turns, 74% were in Spanish. This was not expected, since involuntary turns seemed to have a disciplinary function that might cause students to respond in Spanish in order to avoid further discipline. It is worth noting that all seven involuntary turns made in English came from the two boys. The fact that the two boys used English in this context may indicate a resistance to the teacher's authority. In examples 199 and 200, the teacher seemed to be calling on them in order to show her displeasure at their missing classroom time, yet they responded in English:

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[77] Since students do not select each other to speak, the 1,086 peers turns in the corpus are not incorporated in this discussion of selectedness.

(199)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Entienden esa parte? ¿Cuál fue el papel del sacerdote? ¿Sí? ¿Me lo puedes describir, Matt? ¿Cuál es el papel del sacerdote?
2 Matt: *[Taking his seat after returning from the bathroom]* I just got here.

(200)
[Otto was leaving the room in order to bring the class' lunch money to the cafeteria. The teacher was leading a lesson and noticed his departure]

1 Ms. Torres: Otto, tú debes de estar aquí a esta hora.
2 Otto: I know, I'll be back.
3 Ms. Torres: Después no vas a entender lo que está pasando.

In example 201, however, Otto's use of English after being involuntarily selected in lines 4, 10 and 14 seemed motivated by a lack of ability to get his point across in Spanish:

(201)
[The teacher has just returned students' exams and is asking them why they did so poorly and how they will try to improve next time]

1 Ms. Torres: Otto, ¿qué vas a tratar de hacer diferente la próxima vez?
2 Otto: La, um, hacen, um, *extended response.*
3 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué?
4 Otto: *Extended response.*
5 Ms. Torres: En español.
6 Otto: No sé.
7 Ms. Torres: ¿No sabes?
8 Otto: Um, um..[5 sec] yo no sé.
9 Ms. Torres: Trata.
10 Otto: I don't know.
11 Ms. Torres: ¿Respuestas?
12 Otto: Si. Para compre-a-ción. Compren..
13 Ms. Torres: ¿Más completas?
14 Otto: *Yeah.*
15 Ms. Torres: OK, unas respuestas más completas.

Most turns in the corpus were unselected, and students shouting out answers might have felt less pressure to use English than when they had been selected. However, only 19% of unselected turns were in English. This indicates these four students' general willingness to conform to the language use rules during public classroom speaking.

Therefore, both selectedness and the voluntary nature of the turn correlated with Spanish use: students used Spanish 81% of the time when voluntarily shouting out, but increased to 96% when they had been granted the floor. Perhaps students felt more pressure to use Spanish after bidding for the floor and having won it over the competition of other students' bids.

4.8.1 Bids for the floor

As was just presented in section 4.7, in order to speak publicly during teacher fronted lessons, students either shouted out (87% of the time) or were selected to speak (13% of the time). When shouting out, they used Spanish 81% of the time, but when they had been selected to speak, their Spanish use rose to 96%. Although only 13% of students' turns to the teacher were selected, the fact that 96% of those turns were made in Spanish warrants an examination of students' bidding tactics and how often they were successful, since students who were granted the floor more often were theoretically more likely to produce Spanish in this classroom.

As described in chapter 3, bidding consisted of verbal or non-verbal attempts to get the teacher's attention in order to be granted the right to speak during a teacher fronted lesson. Students bid verbally by shouting out or nonverbally by raising their hands. Verbal bids like "Ooh!" and "Ms. Torres!" were coded "null" for language and were therefore not part of the original corpus of 2,050 turns, but will be included here. Verbal bids such as "¡Yo sé!" were coded as Spanish[78] and included in the corpus. Nonverbal bids (handraising) were too numerous and difficult to count accurately, so no attempt has been made to determine how often students' nonverbal bids were granted the floor. Table 34 presents the number of verbal bids made by each student and the number of times they were selected to speak[79]. This section incorporates 43 of the 153 mixed and null turns that were omitted from the corpus because: (1) 29 of the turns coded null for language were in fact bids, and (2) the 14 selected turns made in mixed language should be included, since students were selected to speak *before* they produced the turn in mixed language.

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[78] There were only three verbal bids in English, perhaps because students knew they would be less likely to win the floor with an English bid during a Spanish lesson.

Table 34, Verbal Bids and Selected Turns

	Carolina L1		Matt L1		Melissa L2		Otto L2	
Verbal Bids N=74	38% of corpus (28)		32% of corpus (24)		5% of corpus (4)		25% of corpus (18)	
Selected turns N=84	35% of corpus (29)		29% of corpus (24)		24% of corpus (20)		13% of corpus (11)	
Selected in response to:	Verbal bids	Nonverbal bids	Verbal bids	Nonverbal bids	Verbal bids	Nonverbal bids	Verbal bids	Nonverbal bids
	13	16	14	10	3	17	4	7
% of verbal bids that were selected	46% (13/28)		61% (14/24)		75% (3/4)		22% (4/18)	

Carolina was selected the most often, accounting for 35% of the total corpus of selected turns. This is not surprising, given that she made more verbal bids (38%) than the other three students. Matt accounted for 29% of the selected turns, which was relatively close to his level of verbal bidding (32%). Unlike Carolina and Matt, Melissa and Otto did not show much of a relationship between their quantity of verbal bids and the number of times they were selected to speak. Melissa bid verbally only four times (5% of all the verbal bids in the corpus) yet was selected to speak 20 times (24% of the selected turns). Otto was the only student selected less often than he had bid: his 18 verbal bids (25% of the corpus of bids) combined with his handraising resulted in just 11 selected turns (13% of all selected turns). That is, although Melissa made only a quarter as many bids as Otto, she was selected twice as often.

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[79] Since this section examines only the number of times students were *initially* selected to speak, the 13*selected-continued* turns are not counted here. This is why the total is 84 and not 97 as reported in Table 33.

It may be that Carolina and Matt (both Spanish L1) produced more verbal bids than Melissa and Otto (Spanish L2) because of their higher Spanish proficiency –they may have bid more often because they felt more confident in their ability to give a well-formed answer[80]. It may also be that their bids were qualitatively different. This section presents a nonsystematic description of students' bids and public turntaking, particularly their salient strategies for bidding and for keeping the floor. The examples are based on nine months of observations and thus provide a reliable reflection of the daily realities of the classroom[81]. It also illustrates several instances in which the teacher uptook[82] students' contributions. Uptaking is not an area of focus of this study, but is worth mentioning because it indicates the teacher's ratification of students' contributions, which may contribute to their continued participation.

Carolina

Carolina's verbal bids were successful 46% of the time. Her bidding strategies may have been partially responsible for her success in gaining the floor. Many students bid by shouting "Ooh!" while raising their hands, and Carolina's "Ooh's!" were often simply louder than those of her classmates. But in example 192, her use of the Spanish word "Como" as if beginning to produce an answer may be what won her the floor over students who simply raised their hands or shouted "Ooh!":

(192)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Alguien puede decir lo que es *campesinos*?
Several students raised hands and shouted "Ooh!"
2 Carolina: Oh, como/
3 Ms. Torres: Carolina.
4 Carolina: ¿Alguien que, um, que cuida la tierra?

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[80] However, Melissa was orally more fluent than Otto yet made only a quarter as many bids as he did.

[81] Since the notion of bidding became salient after data collection had concluded, I was unable to ask the students their interpretations of their bidding strategies and getting the floor.

[82] Uptaking is the incorporation of a student's answer into a subsequent teacher question or comment (Cazden 1988:85).

Similarly, in example 193, the teacher had solicited one final question from the students. Otto (and several other students) had their hands raised, but when Carolina said that she had not a question but a comment, she was granted the floor:

(193)
1 Ms. Torres: Una pregunta más.
[Otto and others had hands raised]
2 Carolina: No, yo tengo un comentario.
[Ms. Torres nodded her head toward Carolina, granting her the floor].
3 Carolina: Hay un restaurante que se llama, um... *Ron of Japan* y es japonés. Y hay un chef
que es mexicano y él me contó de su historia, um, cuando, um, llegó a los Estados Unidos.
4 Ms. Torres: Sí.

In addition to frequently selecting Carolina's bids, Ms. Torres accepted being cut off by Carolina during teacher fronted lessons (example 194):

(194)
[Ms. Torres was explaining the events leading up to the celebration of Cinco de Mayo*].*
1 Ms. Torres: Era un grupo pequeño de mexicanos, que este era el general Zaragoza/
2 Carolina: Oh, y ellos sabían más la tierra, porque los franceses/
3 Ms. Torres: Por eso ganaron.

In conclusion, Carolina was very active during teacher fronted lessons. As seen in Table 25, she produced 31% of all turns directed to the teacher (behind only Otto's 32%), many of which were shouted out. In addition to frequently uptaking Carolina's questions, comments, and answers into the lesson, Ms. Torres also tended to honor her requests to repeat something or to wait before continuing. Her frequent verbal comments were met with approval by the teacher, who often granted her the floor by either calling on her or letting her cut in. Carolina appeared to be a catalyst for teacher fronted lessons because she made frequent, on task comments in Spanish. Carolina was successful at classroom participation, but it should be noted that she, like other students, was sometimes passed over for a turn, cut off, and had her comments not uptaken.

Melissa

Melissa made only four verbal bids during the lessons in this corpus but was selected to speak 20 times. Three of those four times was she selected in response to a verbal bid, indicating that the teacher responded 17 times to her handraising bids. Her successful verbal bids consisted of shouting out the teacher's name, announcing that she had a question or shouting "No, yo sé" (example 195)

(195)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Qué se celebra el cinco de mayo?
2 Carolina: La ind{i}pendencia de/
3 Melissa: ¡No!
4 Otto: La independencia de México.
5 Melissa: No, yo sé.
[*Ms. Torres looked at Melissa, allowing her to continue*].
6 Melissa: Um, cuando um/ [*Other students began talking.*]
7 Ms. Torres: Shh, brevemente, les voy a dar un minuto porque Melissa les explica.
8 Melissa: Cuando los franceses, um, vinieron a, a, a, a México y, um, lo tra, como tenían un, una guerra, y, y um, los mexicanos no tenían muchos, um, weapons/
9 Ms. Torres: Armas.
10 Melissa: Sí, armas, y los franceses tenían muchas. Pero los, um, mexicanos ganaron, con los armas/
11 Ms. Torres: Sí, los mexicanos ganaron, pero/

Although the teacher responded to Melissa's handraising 17 times in this corpus, handraising was often not the most efficient way to get the floor in this classroom. Melissa's handraising often lost out to a student who shouted out the answer. Other times, she did say an answer aloud but it was too quiet for the teacher to hear it. Sometimes it appeared to be Melissa's difficulties with Spanish that caused her to lose the floor. In example 196, she attempted to give the answer "swamp" but appeared not to know how to say it in Spanish. Preferring to stay in Spanish and describe what a swamp was, she lost the reward of giving the correct answer as another student shouted out the English translation:

(196)
1 Ms. Torres:
2 Melissa: Es como, cuando... [*Trying to describe a swamp.*]
3 Student: Swamp.
4 Ms. Torres: Sí.

5 Melissa: That's what I was trying to say.

Like Carolina, Melissa occasionally cut off Ms. Torres and had her comments uptaken:

(197)
Ms. Torres: La obsidiana, ¿la conocen? Es una piedra suave, negra/
Melissa: Si, yo creo. Usan para el.. *arrowheads*.
Ms. Torres: Lo usan para hacer las puntas de las (lanchas)

In conclusion, Melissa was very participatory during groupwork but did not bid much during teacher fronted lessons. Of the four times that she did bid verbally, the teacher selected her three times, and she was also frequently selected when she raised her hand. Perhaps she didn't bid for the floor very often because it was hard to form accurate answers quickly, especially longer answers, and/or she may have been more timid than the other three students (at least publicly and when speaking with the teacher; the examples in Section 4.5.3 showed that Melissa was fairly aggressive in private with her peers).

Matt

Matt made 24 verbal bids, a level of verbal bidding higher than everyone except Carolina, and his verbal bids were the most successful at 61%. Like Carolina, his bidding strategies may have been partially responsible for his success in gaining the floor. In examples 198 and 199, his use of Spanish words as if beginning a turn in lines 2 and 5 appears to have won him the floor over students who simply raised their hands or shouted "Ooh!":

(198)
1 Ms. Torres: Y ¿quiénes eran ellos, Delia?
2 Matt: Los que.. .
3 Delia: Um, vivían en las montañas....
4 Ms. Torres: ¿Vivían en las montañas?
[*Several students shout "Oh!" and raise their hands*]
5 Matt: Que.. Los, los que..
6 Ms. Torres: Matt.

(199)
1 Ms. Torres: No, no un reformatorio. ¿Qué es un OR-fanatorio?
[Otto raises hand and shouts, "Oh!"]
2 Matt: Que...
3 Ms. Torres: Es diferente.
4 Matt: Que, que, um...
5 Ms. Torres: Matt.
6 Matt: Uh, que cuando, sus... sus... uh, sus papá/
7 Student next to Matt: Padres.
8 Matt: /padres se mueren/
9 Ms. Torres: Exacto, cuando no tienen/
10 Matt: Y no tienen nadie.

Matt employed several of the same strategies for getting and keeping the floor as Carolina, including asking the teacher to wait for him (as in line 6 of example 200, which was successful even in English) and interrupting her with an increased volume (example 201):

(200)
1 Ms. Torres: Matt, también.
2 Matt: Que, ah, de..no me acuerdo su primer nombre..um..Austin. Que/
3 Ms. Torres: Moses Austin.
4 Matt: Yeah, Moses Austin. Y, um, él, um, fue el que, um/
5 Ms. Torres: OK, alguien más que ayude a Matt.
6 Matt: *No, no, wait. No.* Después de eso, um, que Marcus y XX Whitman y Henry Elis..Spaldin fundaron una misión de Walla Walla.
7 Ms. Torres: No, estás confundido.

(201)
1 Ms. Torres: OK, Matt.
2 Matt: Porque, el, porque, he locked em... Porque se metió en el cl..eh, closet, y estaban, y no tenían qué comer. Y estaban hartos de comer/
3 Student: No, se comían hot dogs.
4 Ms. Torres: OK, y ¿cuál/
5 Matt: Y ESTABA, Y ESTABA, y estaba harto de, estaban los niños hartos de comer lo mismo.

Matt enjoyed a high success rate at having his bids selected. His bidding strategies were similar to Carolina's: he often started the content of the answer or raised his voice. Similarly to Carolina and other students, he was sometimes passed over for a turn, cut off, and had his comments not picked up.

Otto

Table 33 showed that Otto made 18 verbal bids, only four of which were successful, and he had only seven nonverbal bids selected. In contrast to the other three students, Otto was selected less often than he bid, which means that not only his verbal bids but also his hand raising were more likely to be passed over by the teacher, which may be an indication that she liked him less than the other students. He did get some questions uptaken, using similar strategies as Carolina and Matt – interrupting, stating that he had a question, or just asking his question. In example 205, he was so enthusiastic to participate that he did not let his imperfect Spanish interfere with bidding for a turn.

(202)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿De qué creen que vamos a estar hablando ahorita? Hay tres columnas/
2 Otto: Oh, de los/
3 Ms. Torres: Otto.
4 Otto: ¿De los aztecas?
5 Ms. Torres: ¿ Allí dice de los aztecas?
6 Otto and other studnets: No.

(203)
1 Otto: Ms. Lopez.
2 Ms. Torres: ¿Para qué otra causa puede ser? (*Looked at Otto*)
3 Otto: No, yo tengo un pregunta. Los Mississippian son los Cahokians?
4 Ms. Torres: Sí, es lo mismo.
(204)
1 Ms. Torres: Los arqueólogos encontraron esas evidencias. Pruebas.
2 Carlos: Esto es como/
3 Otto: ¿Los qué?
4 Ms. Torres: Arqueólogos. La palabra está en el libro.

(205)
[*Students were vying for second and third chances to place verb cards on the wall]*
1 Ms. Torres: Sólo los que se equivocaron.
2 Otto: Yo se equivocaron. Ms. Torres, yo equivocado.

But sometimes, like Melissa, Otto's less fluent Spanish appeared to be what caused Ms. Torres to give the floor to someone else. In example 206, he had to be insistent to get his question answered:

(206)
1 Ms. Torres: OK, el exámen va a ser sobre el capítulo cinco y seis, y las palabras, el vocabulario que tienen.
2 Otto: Esto vas a ser los… va, um...esto vas/
3 Ms. Torres: Sí, Alison.
4 Alison: ¿También las palabras de capítulo cuatro?
5 Ms. Torres: No, ésas no las contamos.
6 Otto: ¿Eso va a ser para el *test*?
7 Ms. Torres: No.
8 Otto: ¿Qué vas a serlos? [*Probably trying to say, "What will be?"*]
9 Ms. Torres: Las palabras que ustedes están haciendo.

I have suggested that Carolina and Matt got the floor more often than other students because they used Spanish instead of just shouting "Ooh!". In one instance, Carolina's "Ooh!" actually won the floor over Otto's "Oh, yo sé!"

Sometimes Otto's enthusiasm to participate during teacher fronted lessons got him in trouble because he seemed to lack appropriateness. Ms. Torres' style was generally a back-and-forth with the students – strict turntaking was not the rule, and students often shouted out answers. But sometimes Ms. Torres did request handraising, such as in example 207. She began this lesson by saying, "No quiero empezar lo mismo que ayer. Si saben la respuesta, levanten su mano." Since Otto insisted on shouting out, his turn in line 18 was reprimanded even though it was in Spanish:

(207)
1 Ms. Torres: ¿Thomas Jefferson qué?
2 Otto: [*With hand raised*] Él era un… pres/
3 Ms. Torres: [*annoyed*] Levanten su mano. ¿Qué hizo, Heather? ¿Qué hizo Thomas Jefferson? [*No answer. Otto still had his hand raised*] Otto.
4 Otto: Era un presidente.
5 Ms. Torres: Era un presidente, ¿de dónde?
[*Caroline begins bidding by shouting "OH!" very loudly. Others are raising hands too*]
6 Otto: De Estados Unidos.
7 Ms. Torres: OK, en ese tiempo, Thomas Jefferson era presidente de Estados Unidos.¿Y?
[*Students are bidding loudly*]
8 Otto: Y compró, um, los, um, the Louisiana, la territorio.
9 Ms. Torres: El territorio de Louisiana, ¿a quién?
10 Otto: De..del, um/
[*Many students shout "¡Oh!"*]
11 Ms. Torres: Shh, levanten su mano. ¿A quién, Adam?.

12 Adam: A [*English pronunciation*] Napoleon.
13 Ms. Torres: Y ¿quién es Napoleón? Cindy.
14 Cindy: Es el, um, el emperador de España.
15 Ms. Torres: ¿¡De España?! ¿De dónde es Napoleón? Adam.
16 Adam: De Francia.
17 Ms. Torres: Y ¿por qué tuvo que comprárselo a él?
18 Otto: Porque necesitas más/
19 Ms. Torres: ¡Otto, por favor! Contrólate. José.

In example 208, the teacher appeared to make an error in judging Otto's answer incorrect. When he protested that his answer had not been uptaken, he was again told to raise his hand:

(208) [*Students were asked to find rhymes in a poem*]
1 Otto: Oh, Ms. Torres.
2 Ms. Torres: OK, Otto.
3 Otto: Amapolita amapola.
4 Ms. Torres: Vamos a empezar desde el principio. Tienes que encontrar las líneas...[*Goes to blackboard, begins writing*]
5 Otto: ¡Pero eso es en el principio!
6 Ms. Torres: Otto, fijate. [*Explained how to divide stanzas in half to find rimes*] So encuentra las rimas.
7 Otto: Amapola, amapola. Amapola, amapolita.
8 Ms. Torres: "Amapola amapola", OK, ésa es una.
9 Otto: "Amapola amapo-LITA". That's what I said.
10 Ms. Torres: Shh, levanta tu mano. Heather.
[*Otto made a noise of displeasure/frustration*]

Although Otto was very bright and participated often in on task classroom activity, in Chapter 5 I will expand on the observation that Ms. Torres considered Otto's behavior somewhat problematic. In an interview she commented, "Otto es un buen niño, pero es tremendo [*risa*]. El mismo reconoce, la boca no le para en todo el dia" ("Otto is a good kid, but he's a handful [*laughs*]. He himself recognizes it, his mouth doesn't stop all day") and that he "wasted a lot of time playing and talking about *tonterias* [dumb things] and distracting the others." This very likely influenced her decisions whether to grant him the floor. She felt that he talked too much (yet he made approximately the same number of turns as Carolina), used too much English (yet it was exactly the same amount as Matt) and went off task too often (but he was off task slightly less often than Matt). Otto did, however, use the most teacher English (29%, compared to the other students' 14%) and the least Spanish during social studies (47%, compared to the other students' 71%), which may have contributed to the teacher's evaluations of him.

4.8.2 Summary, selectedness and bidding

Carolina and Matt appeared to be more successful at gaining the public floor. They bid aggressively and loudly and used actual Spanish words instead of "Ooh!" The possibility that Spanish L1 dual immersion students were more successful than their Spanish L2 counterparts at gaining the public floor, which is when the majority of Spanish production took place in this classroom, suggests that they enjoyed greater opportunities to produce Spanish. This contradicts Delgado-Larocco's (1998) findings that instructional practices in a dual immersion classroom privileged the Spanish L2 students' acquisition of Spanish. It also runs counter to the warnings of Valdés (1997) that dual immersion classrooms are structured to benefit Spanish L2 students over Spanish L1 students by slowing down and simplifying teacher talk to accommodate the less-developed linguistic systems of the Spanish L2 students. That Spanish L2 students were less successful at verbally gaining the floor suggests that this teacher expected and rewarded native-like participation during teacher fronted lessons. Further research on selectedness in dual immersion is necessary.

There were also differences between the two Spanish L2 students. Melissa's verbal bids were infrequent (only four in the entire corpus) but the teacher granted her the floor often when she raised her hand. In contrast, Otto made the most bids of all four students but was selected the least, most likely because the teacher often considered his behavior inappropriate[83].

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[83] Since selectedness became salient after data collection had ended, I could not ask the teacher directly about her selecting practices. However, her interview responses (explored in section 4.10) indicate that she did find Otto's participation problematic.

Further systematic study should be made of how often teachers select students and uptake their comments in a dual immersion classroom, because as suggested by Carranza (1995), access to the floor is an important resource in a dual immersion classroom. It affects not only on the learning of content but also constitutes opportunities to use, practice, and learn Spanish. Ms. Torres controlled several resources, including the assignment of grades and classroom discipline, who got the floor during teacher-fronted lessons and how long they held it, and how *canicas* were distributed and taken away. McKay & Wong (1996:578) claimed that the "unevenly distributed right to speak" was acutely felt by immigrant students who struggled to acquire language proficiency while simultaneously negotiating their identities. The results of this section suggest that the "right to speak" was not evenly distributed among these four students. Carolina and Matt appeared to have greater access to the floor because of their fluent oral Spanish, while Melissa may have been more successful than Otto because of her identity as a good student who was respectful and on task.

4.9 Mean length of turns: participant structure, class, student, interlocutor, selectedness, topic

The mean lengths of turns as according to language is displayed in Table 35, while Table 36 displays the total number of words produced by the students in each language. Table 37 displays average length by participant structure, class, student, interlocutor, selectedness, and topic.

Table 35, Mean length of turns by language

N=2,052	Mean length of turns
Spanish	4.8
Spanish base + English lexeme	6.5
Total Spanish	**5.7**
English	5.9
English base + Spanish lexeme	6.5
Total English	**6.2**

Turns that incorporated a lexeme from the other language were on average longer than monolingual turns. The average length of monolingual Spanish turns was 4.8 words, while turns with an English lexeme averaged 6.5 words. The average length of monolingual English turns was 5.9 words, and turns with a Spanish lexeme averaged 6.5 words. The finding that the use of a lexeme from English would increase the average length of Spanish turns was not surprising, since the use of an English word seemed to allow students to continue a turn in Spanish instead of halting them at the word they did not know. This finding was not expected for Spanish turns that incorporated an English lexeme, since it seemed less common for students not to know a word in English that they knew in Spanish. These turns may have included what we have called "school vocabulary" that students learned primarily in Spanish, such as specialized vocabulary in their language arts and social studies lessons.

English turns were overall slightly longer than Spanish turns: monolingual English turns (5.9) were 1.1 words longer than monolingual Spanish turns (4.8) and all English turns (6.3) were on average .7 words longer than all Spanish turns (5.6). Although students produced a greater quantity of turns in Spanish (1,141) than in English (909), these Spanish turns were slightly *shorter* than their English turns.

Table 36, Total number of words produced (N=10,801)

Spanish	English
51% (5,512)	49% (5,289)

Table 36 shows that there were 5,512 words in Spanish and 5,289 words in English in the entire corpus, which totals 223 more words in Spanish. Therefore, the overall volume of language in the corpus was 51% Spanish and 49% English, only slightly less Spanish than the volume indicated by counting turns, and still showing a slight preference for Spanish.

Table 37, Mean length of turns, participant structure, class, student, interlocutor, selectedness, topic

	Overall	Spanish	English
Participant structure: Teacher fronted	5.5	5.6	6.4
Groupwork	5.6	5.7	5.5
Transitions	6.9	6.7	7.1
Class: Language arts	5.5	5.6	5.5
Social studies	5.6	6.0	5.3
Transitions	6.7	4.6	8.9
Student: Carolina	5.4	5.5	5.3
Matt	6.1	5.9	6.3
Melissa	6.1	7.0	5.2
Otto	5.7	4.6	6.7
Interlocutor: Teacher	6.4	**8.5**	4.4
Peers	5.7	5.7	5.8
Selectedness: Selected (voluntary)	6.0	**10.4**	1.6
Selected (involuntary)	14.5	**14.3**	4.7
Unselected	6.0	4.7	7.3
Topic: On task	5.7	5.7	5.8
Off task	7.3	7.9	6.7
Management	5.7	5.1	6.4

Table 37 shows that the longest average Spanish turns were those which were selected (10.4 voluntary and 14.3 involuntarily). This makes sense, given that in Table 33 we saw that selected voluntary turns were more often in Spanish. It may be that once students had bid for and won the floor, they made an effort to give a complete, lengthy answer in Spanish. In contrast, when they had been selected but spoke English, the mean length of those English turns was just 3.2 words (1.6 and 4.7), indicating a desire to avoid lengthy English turns when selected to speak publicly. However, when shouting out answers, their English turns were longer at 7.3 words.

Spanish turns directed to the teacher (8.5) were longer than Spanish turns directed to peers (5.7). Other studies have compared students' L2 use with the teacher to their L2 use with classmates and found that students' peer language use was longer and more complex (Willett 1995; Liu 1994). This was not the case in the present study, since peer Spanish turns were even shorter than teacher Spanish turns. The difference may lie in the fact that Willet (1995) and Liu (1994) examined ESL contexts in which students were acquiring the majority language that held status in the classroom and the community. In other words, those were contexts in which the English-speaking community was "acquiring" the student. When talking with their native English-speaking peers, ESL students may indeed have felt a need to produce longer, socially significant utterances in order to place themselves in the community.

On the other hand, in non-English L2 classrooms in the United States, the pattern may be more similar to the one found here, in which English remains the status language and students will only use Spanish when required, such as with the teacher, and will therefore produce longer turns only when speaking to her. It is interesting that the longest Spanish turns were produced in involuntary turns. With peers, they preferred to use English, and the Spanish turns they did produce with each other were on average shorter (5.7) than those directed to the teacher (8.5).

A final observation about the length of individual students' turns is that Melissa's Spanish turns (7.0) were on average longer than those of the other three students, and Otto and Matt's English turns (an average of 6.5) were longer than those of the girls (5.3), supporting the trend that the boys used more English than the girls and that Melissa had a strong investment in using Spanish.

4.10 Summary and discussion

This study attempted to understand the circumstances under which the four students used Spanish and English during their language arts and social studies classes. I examined their language use according to class, participant structure, interlocutor, topic, selectedness, mean length of turn, gender, and L1. Table 38 summarizes the contexts that produced the *highest* percentages of Spanish use, as well as the percent of the total 1,141 Spanish turns that those turns represented. Table 39 presents the contexts that saw the *lowest* percentages of Spanish use and the percent of the total Spanish turns that those turns represented. Tables 40 and 41 do the same for English.

Table 38, Greatest Spanish use

Note: Totals do not equal 100%.	Selected to speak	Interlocutor teacher	Unselected (shouted out)	On task	Teacher fronted	Social studies	Language arts
% Spanish use	96%	82%	81%	67%	67%	63%	56%
% of all Spanish turns in corpus (N=1,141)	8% (93)	70% (793)	60% (681)	88% (999)	66% (751)	35% (394)	62% (703)

Table 39, Least Spanish use

Note: Totals do not equal 100%.	Off task	Interlocutor peers	Management	Groupwork
% Spanish use	16%	32%	36%	42%
% of all Spanish turns in corpus (N=1,141)	4% (51)	30% (347)	7% (81)	34% (390)

The three categories with the highest percentage of Spanish use were selected, speaking to the teacher, and when shouting out an answer. The table also shows that of all the Spanish turns in the data, most were on task, directed to the teacher, and during teacher fronted lessons. Teacher fronted lessons accounted for 66% of all the Spanish data. Although groupwork may result in longer turns and more elaborate speech styles for ESL students (Willett 1995; Liu 1994), what seemed to promote more Spanish use in this classroom was having the teacher as an interlocutor. As suggested earlier, this is likely because English was the preferred language among students. Additionally, 95% of all Spanish turns in the data were on task, suggesting that the more students stay on task, the more Spanish they will use. Students used the least amount of Spanish when off task, when speaking to peers, for managing tasks, and during groupwork.

Table 40, Greatest English use

Note: Totals do not equal 100%.	Off task	Interlocutor peers	Mgmt	Gpwk	Language arts	Social studies	Involunt
% English use	84%	68%	64%	58%	44%	37%	26%
% of all English turns in corpus (N=909)	28% (255)	81% (738)	16% (141)	59% (537)	61% (552)	25% (228)	0.8% (7)

Table 41, Least English use

Note: Totals do not equal 100%.	Selected to speak	Interlocutor teacher	Unselected (shouted out)	On task	Teacher fronted
% English use	4%	18%	19%	33%	33%
% of all English turns in corpus (N=909)	0.4% (4)	19% (171)	18% (161)	54% (489)	41% (374)

Students used the most English when off task and when speaking to peers. They used the least amount of English when they were selected to speak and with the teacher. In fact, only 19% of the total 905 English turns in the data were directed to the teacher.

An advantage assumed to be present in dual immersion over regular immersion classrooms is that Spanish L2 students can speak Spanish with L1 peers. We have seen that only 30% of all Spanish turns in the corpus were directed to peers. Table 42 examines the contexts in which students used the most Spanish with each other.

Table 42, Peer Spanish turns (N=347)

Note: Totals do not equal 100%	On task	Language arts	Social studies
% of peer Spanish turns	55% (191/347)	66% (230/347)	33% (113/347)
	42% of all on task peer turns were in Spanish	32% of all language arts peer turns were in Spanish	41% of all social studies peer turns were in Spanish

The greatest number of peer Spanish turns took place during language arts – there were twice as many peer Spanish turns during language arts compared to social studies. This may be because social studies was more often teacher fronted (see Table 14). The second-most related variable to peer Spanish use was being on task, which accounted for 55% of all peer Spanish turns.

Since we used turns as the unit of analysis, our data is not directly comparable to that of Broner's (2000) utterances or Parker et al.'s (1995) adjacency pairs. However, it was shown in Table 6 that when we counted the number of utterances in our corpus, the overall language totals changed by only 1%. Therefore, it may be valid to make a comparison among the three studies (with the caveat that we did not analyze each of the categories by utterances). This is displayed in Table 43.

Table 43, Comparison of three studies: Spanish use
Note: The different units of analysis make this comparison less reliable

	Potowski 2001 N=2,050 turns	Broner 2000 N=4,843 utterances	Parker et. al. 1995* N=51 adjacency pairs
Total	56%	64%	42%
To teacher	82%	98%	--
To peers	32%	58%	--
Teacher fronted	67%	71%**	78%
Groupwork	42%	65%**	24%
On task	67%	71%*; includes management	--
Off task	16%	42%*	--
Management	36%	--	--

* I arrived at these totals by averaging data reported separately.
** I arrived at these totals by equating Broner's (2000) categories of *directions, main activity* and *follow up* to what I call *teacher fronted lessons* and her categories *desk work* and *transition* with what I call *groupwork*.

Our data show overall less Spanish use than found by Broner (2000) and Paker et al. (1995) in regular immersion classrooms, despite the fact that two of our four focal students were native Spanish speakers. It was suggested earlier that the teachers' methods of managing classroom language use may play an important role in students' language use, although no studies have attempted to quantify this.

Additionally, just 15% of the turns in Broner (2000) were directed to adults, while in our study it was 47%, allowing much greater chance for students to slip into English.

Merino (1991) proposed that the geographical location of the school may affect language use within classrooms. Reviewing the findings of Chesterfield et al. (1983), she suggested that students in Corpus Christi used less Spanish than their counterparts in Milwaukee because communities close to the Mexican border have greater access to Spanish, which may have caused teachers to feel a need to emphasize English; the teachers in Milwaukee, a predominately English-speaking area, may have purposefully used more Spanish in order that the children could develop it. The Inter-American Magnet School is in Chicago, the third largest Hispanic city in the country (which might encourage English use in school) but the school is located in Lakeview, a predominately white, upper-class, English-speaking neighborhood (which might encourage Spanish use).

However, it is unlikely that the neighborhood affected students' classroom language choices very much, since they did not leave school grounds to interact with community members. According to Genesee (1987:96), no direct comparisons have been made of L2 achievement in immersion programs in different geographical settings, although Swain concluded that there was little relationship between the community and L2 acquisition in immersion schools (1981:118). What was likely more significant in this study was that 45% of the Latino students arrived to the school already "bilingual" (Christian et al. 1997:85; no elaboration was provided on the term), even though 48% of the student body came from neighborhoods with large Hispanic populations[84]. Therefore, in this study it is likely that the Spanish proficiency of the Latino students was more relevant to classroom language use than the possible role of geography.

However, the schools in Broner (2000), Parker et al. (1995) and my study do not differ in this way. The immersion schools studied by Broner (2000) and Parker et al. (1995) were located in Minneapolis-St.

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[84] Of the 30 different zip code areas in the city in which Inter-American students live, the four that send the greatest number of students (accounting for 48% of the student body) have large Hispanic populations. These areas are Logan Square/Humbolt Park, Avondale/Saint Ben's, Albany Park/Ravenswood, and Old Irving. See Appendix H for a zip code map that I compiled.

Paul, which despite a Mexican presence is predominantly English-speaking. Although the Inter-American Magnet School is in Chicago, the third largest Hispanic city in the country, it is located in a predominately white, upper-class, English-speaking neighborhood. This, combined with the fact that many Latino children arrive to the school already fluent in English may have a role in setting the school's overall language environment (which will be described in further detail in Chapter 5).

Parker et al. noted that the "bilingual relationship" between students and teacher probably influenced the language use of both teachers and students (1995:238). That is, the immersion classroom they studied was not the "ideal" immersion design described by Cohen & Swain (1976) in which students had a monolingual Spanish relationship with the Spanish teacher. However, this does not explain why less Spanish was used in my study since Parker et al. (1995), Broner (2000) and I all studied immersion classrooms with bilingual teacher-student relationships. A future study in a dual immersion classroom in which students have a monolingual relationship with the teacher, such as in sixth grade social studies at the Inter-American, might reveal greater Spanish use than found in my study.

Our study suggests that in this particular classroom, the presence of native Spanish-speaking students did not increase overall student Spanish use. Indeed, the student who used the most English was Spanish L1. The students in my study undoubtedly had more frequent models of L1 Spanish than if all of their peers had been Spanish L2, but this did not translate into greater overall use of Spanish. The fact that most of the Spanish L1 students had been born and raised in Chicago lessened the probability that they would have been exposed to preadolescent slang.

We propose that the language use of the students in our study were related to issues of their identity investments. The preceding sections of this chapter illustrated the relationship between nine variables and students' Spanish use and also offered examples of Spanish and English turns by each student. The final chapter attempts to describe each student's relationships to Spanish and identity constructions that seemed to inhibit or motivate their decisions to use Spanish in the classroom.

CHAPTER FIVE
QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

Most socioculturally oriented SLA research has examined ESL contexts where the language learners were living in an English-speaking country in which acquisition of English was linked to their success both inside and outside of the classroom (Norton 2000; McKay & Wong 1995; Toohey 2000; Willett 1995). Spanish in the United States, on the other hand, is a minority language and as such is arguably less necessary for success than English. However, a sociocultural perspective remains a valid means to explore the classroom language experiences of these four focal students, not only because a considerable degree of Spanish proficiency was necessary to be successful in this dual immersion context, but also because all classroom language learning and use, even of minority languages, involve interactions with others and arguably engage speakers' identities.

In this section, I will explore how investment (Norton 2000), identity, and power relations may have contributed to the two L2 learners' Spanish language use and to the two Heritage Spanish speakers' continued use and development of their L1. That is, following Norton (2000) and McKay & Wong (1996:591), I have attempted "to link students' classroom language use to the ongoing production of their identities". I sought threads that were common to all students, but given the personal nature of investment and identity, each student had their own configuration of sometimes contradictory attitudes and linguistic behaviors, and each student was differently positioned by classmates and by the teacher. Through these descriptions, I suggest explanations for the language use described in the preceding sections.

In order to explore issues of investment, identity, and power, I reexamined the sixteen Spanish lessons as well as the four student interviews, the four parent interviews, the two teacher interviews, eight months of fieldnotes, and students' written questionnaires, looking for themes related to the use of Spanish and English at three levels: the school, the classroom, and in the lives of the individual students outside of school. Students' classroom identities are a combination of the characteristics they develop in the home, the expectations and positionings they find at school, and the power they have to conform to or resist those expectations. It was not a goal of this study to identify broad "discourses" about different kinds of students that existed in the school (McKay & Wong 1996), but two interviews with the teacher added to my observations about how she seemed to position each of the four students. In this section, I will attempt to paint a portrait of the Spanish use expectations in Ms. Torres' classroom (both the teacher's and the students'), how the students responded to those expectations, and the repercussions of their decisions.

The general questions inspired by this construct for my study included, what facets of these four students' identities seemed relevant to their classroom language use? How were their relationships to Spanish constructed in their families and outside of school? What were the relevant positionings and resources within the classroom that affected language use? And under what conditions did students' investments in a particular aspect of their identity seemed to motivate them to speak Spanish in class or inhibit them from doing so? These questions will be applied to each student in the upcoming sections as I try to highlight how and why each one created, responded to, and resisted opportunities to speak Spanish.

Following McCollum (1994) one of the classroom "resources" that I considered significant was the floor. In section 4.7, it was suggested that Spanish L1 students were generally more successful at getting and holding the public floor than the L2 students (in part because they started their bids with Spanish words) and the more academically oriented L2 student was more successful than the L2 student whom the teacher positioned as having problematic participation patterns and lacking academic focus. Speaking Spanish during teacher fronted lessons, therefore, may have represented a desire to present an identity as a good student, one who participated acceptably (on task and in Spanish) and was granted the floor as a result. During groupwork, the "floor" at each table was up for grabs among peers, and because it was unmonitored by the teacher, there was less pressure to speak Spanish. Choosing to do so seemed to be a strong indication of investment, this time directed to one's peers, in an identity as a Spanish-speaker and an academically-focused student. We saw that the girls used the most peer Spanish and that while they appeared to occasionally influence their peers to use Spanish, Melissa's peers also appeared to pressure her to use English.

In addition to the floor, there were other resources, opportunities, and expectations for Spanish use in the school[65].

5.1 Spanish use in the school

The Inter-American is unique within the Chicago Public School system because it was started by parents instead of the Board of Education. Active parental involvement continues to this day, and the parents I observed at more than a dozen meetings crossed lines of class, race, ethnicity and neighborhood. Most people involved with the school proudly mentioned the family atmosphere and that many children and even grandchildren of teachers and administrators were students there. A magazine article written by a parent posited that at the Inter-American, "The older kids are more likely to watch out for the younger kids than they are to steal their lunch money" (Sullivan 1995). I observed eighth graders on duty as hall monitors hugging children as they filed by, and fifth graders visiting kindergarten classes for weekly "reading buddies" sessions.

Articles about the school and its teachers have appeared in local Chicago newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune* (12/7/93), the *Chicago Sun-Times* (seven articles between 1991 and 1996) and *La Raza* (11/23/95), as well as in other publications such as the *Financial Times* (4/12/88), *Chicago* magazine (4/87) and the *Phi Delta Kappan* (9/95). They highlight the success of the school's multicultural approach in terms of students' bilingual fluency and high test scores. The Phi Delta Kappan piece documents one family's involvement in the struggle to help keep the school alive in its early years. The author mentions the parents' dedication to "multicultural urban bonds". I observed new struggles during my research at the Inter-American, including a fight to maintain busing for preschool students (without which many parents could not send their children) and a new building to replace the "temporary" and structurally unsound one they had been occupying for almost 30 years. Both fights were heated but ultimately successful, in large part due to community members' participation in meetings, letter writing campaigns, and administrators' knowledge of the political machinery of Chicago.

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[65] It was beyond the scope of this study to examine the roles of Spanish throughout the city of Chicago and how these roles may have impacted the perceptions of the status of the language by the school, the teachers, the parents, and the students. The broadest level of analysis, therefore, was contained within the school itself.

A point about school meetings is relevant to the role of Spanish in the school. From two sources, a parent interview and a magazine article written by a parent (Sullivan 1995), I had heard of "interminable" parent meetings in which all comments were made in one language and then translated to the other, which dragged meetings out so long that one parent I interviewed eventually stopped going. I attended monthly meetings of two different groups during the year and none were bilingual. They were in English, with someone occasionally leaning over to a Spanish-dominant parent to translate or clarify something in Spanish. From having heard them speak Spanish on other occasions, I deduced that some parents did not know enough Spanish to conduct the business of the meetings, while it seemed that the Spanish-speaking parents knew enough English to do so. One Spanish-dominant administrator who occasionally attended meetings understood English but would speak only Spanish, which did not appear to create any difficulties for the attendees.

Despite this apparent preference for English among the participants at these meetings, in other ways knowledge of Spanish was not only advantageous but at times crucial within the school building. The hallway exhibits on all three floors, created by different classrooms to exhibit current topics of study, were almost entirely in Spanish. I routinely observed school staff disciplining or directing children in the hallways in Spanish and kindergarten children being walked to lunch or to the bathroom while being led in singing a Spanish song. Even more notably, public announcements during the school day were often done in

Spanish without an English repetition, including summons for students to report to the main office. On at least three occasions I even heard announcements requesting that a visitor move their vehicle from the parking lot. The lack of repetition in English despite the fact that the driver might not have known Spanish indicated that the building was a Spanish-speaking space.

The day before classes began, one of the founders of the school, currently in her sixties and retired in California, came to talk to the teachers. In Spanish, she quietly but unequivocally stated that the school's *raison d'etre* was not to enrich English-speaking children, but that it had been founded for Spanish-speaking children. Nor was it only for gifted kids, she emphasized, saying that tracking students is not a good idea because "all children are gifted". She also mentioned concern that there were not enough poor students at the school. Finally, she reminded teachers of the importance of their work by making a connection between their dual immersion program and language education all over the country, particularly in California where Proposition 227 had severely restricted instruction in non-English languages. She cautioned, "If the Inter-American fails, California fails. If California fails, the United States fails."

I saw several teachers display a tenacious dedication to Spanish during Open House nights, evenings at the beginning of the year when parents were invited to meet their child's teacher and listen to a presentation by the three teachers of that grade level. When one third-grade parent requested that all homework be sent home with an English translation so that she could help her child, the teachers replied that such a practice would undermine the need for the child to force himself to comprehend the Spanish instructions. I also observed teachers describing ways in which parents could foster their children's Spanish development.

However, in other ways it was clear that Spanish did not have the same status as English in the school (cf. Freeman 1998; Carranza 1995; McCollum 1994). I will describe my observations in the sections that follow, but a caveat is in order. I observed a deep commintment by teachers and administrators to providing a truly bilingual, bicultural education. The enthusiasm about their mission was palpable.

Teachers often approached me to ask how my research was going and whether they could be of any help. One veteran teacher assured me that although I might discover discrepancies between goals and actual practice, "We could use a wake-up call every now and again."

English dominance

A primary indication of the dominance of English was that I routinely observed teachers using English during lessons that according to the official classroom schedule were supposed to be in Spanish. Some teachers explained that the books were in English or that it was more important for students to know the material in English for standardized tests or for high school. For example, the eighth grade science and math teacher commented that she used English so that students would pass the ITBS test: "If they don't pass, they don't graduate. That's the bottom line. This is eighth grade. I don't want to be enforcing Spanish. They should have had it. I'm surprised how little some of them have." This echoes McCollum's (1994) criticism of standardized testing's influence on language use in dual immersion classrooms.

In materials and time distribution, Spanish lost out to English. The eighth grade classroom in which students were taught language arts and social studies was not equipped with a Spanish dictionary, either bilingual or monolingual, during the dozen times I observed it. I was there the day this teacher explained to her students why Monday and Wednesday would be for Spanish classes and Tuesday and Thursday for social science: "Como hay mucho material en ciencias, y los lunes hay muchas interrumpciones, el español se hará los lunes y miércoles" ("Since there is a lot of material in science, and on Mondays there are a lot of interruptions, Spanish will be on Mondays and Wednesdays"). Social science was too important to be interrupted, but Spanish was not. For the seventh and eighth grade science fair, all student projects were in English. This may have been because the volunteer judges from a nearby hospital did not know Spanish, but the projects were not rendered bilingually. For all students in the school, the "resource" classes of music, gym, and computers, were taught in English (although music classes and the fifth grade choir group did several songs in Spanish) and several teachers complained that this eroded the percentage of Spanish instruction that students were supposed to receive each day.

The unequal value of Spanish and English in the school was also reflected in the handling of students who had problems in either language. A policy that seemed to value the linguistic capital of Spanish-speakers was that monolingual Spanish-speakers could join the school at any grade level, while monolingual English-speakers could only join before fourth grade. In this way, the school encouraged the enrollment of Spanish-dominant students. Students whose teachers evaluated them as needing further support in Spanish were sent to pull-out Spanish as a second language (SSL) classes, and their counterparts who struggled with English were sent to ESL classes.

SSL vs. ESL

My observations of and interviews with the SSL and the ESL teachers revealed significant differences. The ESL classes were taught by a trained language acquisition professional who attended conferences about literacy instruction and occasionally published research articles on ESL methodology. I found her extremely knowledgeable about testing and placement procedures for bilingual students. Her classes were student-centered and students' English language development was closely monitored. The vice-principal of the school called her the "ESL guru."

The SSL teacher, on the other hand, admitted to me that she had no training in language teaching, claiming that she did not need any, "because you're just teaching them the language". In the five hours of SSL classes I observed during the year, all of which were agreed to in advance by the teacher, students were asked to silently copy Spanish words or sentences out of a book, color flags from Spanish-speaking countries, watch English cartoons, and even wash blackboards. I rarely observed students actually producing oral Spanish or being asked to exhibit comprehension of spoken or written Spanish, the exception being a computer program that required selecting the name of an item displayed in a picture.

The teacher usually sat at her desk grading papers, occasionally giving commands to the students working in silence before her. She once sharply reprimanded a third grade boy, "What's the matter, can't you remember the words?" and commented to me that one of her students "got six questions wrong on a test about things I told her over and over. I don't know what her problem is". While this teacher was willing to be observed and interviewed and was always friendly with me, she seemed harsh and uninspiring with her students.

This SSL teacher was African-American, as were three quarters of her students. She claimed to use an Afro-centric curriculum that included showing videos of the Afro-Cuban singer Celia Cruz and having students perform *merengue* dances at student assemblies. Ms. Torres sent only one student to SSL, an African-American girl named Leslie who was one of the lowest achievers in the classroom, and confided that perhaps the racial commonality would allow the SSL teacher to reach Leslie in ways that Ms. Torres herself had been unable. However, two teachers I interviewed complained strongly about SSL instruction, saying that they preferred to keep even the most Spanish-challenged students in their classrooms to sending them to SSL because they would be "wasting time" there. A school in which 40% of the student body has little or no Spanish support outside of the school yet does not provide stronger SSL services may be sending the message that Spanish is not a high priority[86]. The SSL teacher told me that she was not supposed to have any eighth grade students in SSL ("By then, they should have had enough Spanish") but that several were being sent to her. Although many Spanish L2 students developed impressive levels of oral Spanish, it is doubtful that any student graduated from the Inter-American with English levels as low as the Spanish levels I heard from some eighth grade students who had been there since preschool.

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[86] After data collection had ended, the SSL teacher transferred to another school and was replaced by an award-winning fourth-grade teacher, whose class I had observed and who in my opinion displayed solid pedagogical practices.

There are two other interesting issues related to SSL. When asked why she felt some students had difficulties meeting the school's expectations of Spanish acquisition, the SSL teacher noted that many parents (particularly African Americans) who lived in "bad neighborhoods" applied to the Inter-American lottery not because they supported dual language education, but because they wanted their children to attend a safer school than the local neighborhood alternative: "They'll fight to keep their kids in here. They'll say, 'Oh he knows Spanish, he teaches it to us,' but I don't see any evidence of that." The other point was that most of her students had diagnosed learning disorders for which they were receiving professional school services; she told me that her entire seventh grade group was "LD" (learning disabled). It seems that this teacher gets the school's most challenging students yet appears unprepared to meet their needs.

The school's use of the terms "Spanish dominant" and "English dominant" provides another point of interest. Although a person's language dominance usually varies by topic, context, and mode of communication, the word "dominant" implies that the person knows more and can express herself more extensively in most contexts in that language (Baker 1996:25); heritage language educators now speak of a bilingual continuum (Valdés 2001). However, it seemed that the term "Spanish dominant" was used for students who spoke *some* Spanish in the home, but could be bilingual or actually English dominant. It may be that, as in many public schools, the use of labels like "ESL" or "Spanish dominant" are important for funding considerations, although I do not have evidence to support this. It may also be a convenient way to refer to students' home language, or a way to bolster the impression of Spanish "dominance" in the school.

Two further observations are worth noting. One, mentioned by several teachers and parents, was the lack of articulation between the Inter-American and the city's high schools. Students who learned Spanish at the Inter-American were placed in high school Spanish classes that were too easy for them because nothing else was available. The school was swimming against the tide; its vision of the importance of Spanish was not shared by other schools in the community, and the Spanish skills of many of its graduates appeared to stagnate once in high school. Another observation came during the letter writing campaign for a new building when parents were given sample letters to emulate. When a fifth grade teacher noted that there was no sample letter in Spanish, a school administrator responded that the status of the authors of the letters was more important than the content itself, remarking that "We need prestige." This could have been interpreted as a belief that a person who would write a letter in Spanish would not command the prestige necessary to convince the school board of the need for a new building.

Where one could most vividly see the difference between the use of Spanish and English in the school was in the students' own language use, particularly in their interactions with each other. In their study of three dual immersion schools, Christian et al. (1997) noted that students at the Inter-American appeared to use more English than students in the other two schools, and in section 4.4 we saw that the focal students used Spanish just 32% of the time when talking to each other. Several teachers sighed that it was a constant struggle to get students to use Spanish. One teacher commented that she would prefer to have the entire morning in Spanish, "when the kids are fresh," but that English was used because resource classes were in English and because she needed to prepare her students for English standardized tests.

This teacher also commented that the responsibility for getting her students to use Spanish rested entirely on her. She could usually get them to speak Spanish with her, but battled to get them to use it with each other. She encouraged them by giving them tickets for Spanish use, which they exchanged for prizes, but commented that such a practice rested on a "completely external" motivation. From what I observed, some teachers were more insistent than others on students' Spanish use. Students' preference to speak English was mentioned to me often in hallway chats with teachers, but I did not see any institutional efforts to encourage students' Spanish use. It may be that these educators were satisfied with students' levels of Spanish comprehension and writing. Indeed, Tarone & Swain (1995, citing a personal communication from Warden) commented that immersion educators might consider contenting themselves with their students' academic language development and abandoning the hope of peer minority language use. I will look specifically at Ms. Torres' Spanish encouragement practices ahead.

What do these observations indicate about the roles of and expectations for Spanish use at the school? While my observations and analyses are by no means exhaustive, it did seem that despite the school's goals of equality of Spanish and English, there was "leakage" (Freeman 1998) from the outside English-dominant world. English often appeared to be the unmarked and more important language, due in part to the realities of standardized tests and the priorities of local high schools. Students preferred to use English with teachers and especially with each other. Some even showed disdain for Spanish: on a handful of occasions, I heard students who were being corrected on their Spanish respond "Whatever" or "Who cares?" As suggested in section 4.6, to some extent there was a diglossic situation in which Spanish was a language only for academic work while English was for both academic work and social interaction, and students tried to use English for Spanish academic work when they could get away with it.

Despite this leakage from the English-dominant society surrounding the school, I strongly believe that students at the Inter-American develop Spanish language skills and Hispanic cultural references more than they would at other schools in the city. The few elementary schools that do offer Spanish L2 classes only do so for half an hour a day, far less than what they receive at the Inter-American. Spanish L1 students who enter traditional bilingual programs in first grade are exited after three years, at which point they receive no further L1 curriculum. While they may retain some oral fluency in Spanish (BICS), their Spanish reading and writing levels (CALP) likely remains below their English. At the Inter-American, students received a good portion of their instruction in Spanish and had to read, write, and verbalize their thoughts in Spanish. I was impressed by writing samples I saw as well as the academic oral Spanish I observed among sixth graders discussing the death penalty or among fifth graders analyzing a José Marti poem. A future study could compare Spanish L1 students' Spanish with that of their cohorts in traditional bilingual programs.

5.2 The roles of Spanish in Ms. Torres' classroom

In Norton's (2000) ethnographic study, some of the women were exposed to English only at work. Many of the L1 English students at this school were exposed to Spanish only at school, and that exposure occurred mainly in the classroom during academic lessons and not during lunch, music, gym, or social time. A more detailed focus on Ms. Torres' classroom, especially the roles of and expectations for Spanish use, is essential for understanding the context in which the four focal students in my study navigated their classroom language use as described earlier in this chapter.

Ms. Torres' family immigrated to Chicago from Mexico when she was fourteen years old and today she is a very fluent Spanish-English bilingual. I found her classroom very comfortable to observe. She encouraged students to participate actively, to ask questions, and to make connections. It was common for students to shout out answers in her classroom, yet Ms. Torres maintained sufficient discipline in order to carry out her academic goals. She seemed to balance her academic agenda with real concern for her students, and it was obvious that most of them enjoyed themselves in her class and liked her as a teacher. Morning classes, which were Spanish language arts, math, and half of the social studies curriculum, were taught in Spanish. Afternoon classes, which were English language arts, science, and the other half of the social studies curriculum, were taught in English. Ms. Torres taught the students the entire day.

Students needed a high level of Spanish comprehension in order to be successful in Ms. Torres' classroom. Although I have not analyzed her classroom speech or compared it to that of other native Spanish speakers, I believe that she spoke at a standard pace and did not water down her speed or her vocabulary (cf. Valdés 1997). In fact, she commented that even L1 Spanish students at the beginning of the school year said that she spoke Spanish very fast. Students' social studies textbook and almost all of their math materials were in Spanish, and comprehension of these materials was essential to completing the fifth grade curriculum successfully. Students read three novels in Spanish during the year, had animated discussions about them, and wrote written responses that included new vocabulary items. Even students who could not produce much oral Spanish could write basic ideas and, judging by their classroom participation, seemed to understand most of what they heard and read.

However, I did observe practices that suggested that English was more frequent and more important in this classroom. Fifth grade classrooms were supposed to be 60% Spanish and 40% English, but based on my observations, Spanish was the official class language during only 40 to 50% of the week (including resource classes). The importance of standardized tests was evident as well. Ms. Torres mentioned in an interview that near the time of the ITBS and the ISAT exams, she had students do reading and math journals in English even though math was supposed to be taught in Spanish. When a student asked why they were writing math strategies in English, Ms. Torres responded that the test was in English and she wanted them to learn the English terms, but that they could write their strategies in Spanish if they wanted. A general "No!" arose from the students, but Ms. Torres did not even turn around from the blackboard to assess their responses; it had not been a serious offer. On another occasion, a student asked how many of their out-of class reading logs should be based on Spanish books. Ms. Torres answered that she knew a lot of students had trouble responding in Spanish and therefore their written reactions to Spanish books would be done during class time, not as homework, and would have a less complex format than the one used in English.

In an interview, Ms. Torres reflected on the difficulties she had getting students to use Spanish and fulfill the school's language use expectations:

> "Yo siento que cuando llegan al quinto grado, ya no quieren hablar más el español. Ya no quieren usarlo tanto. Sea porque vienen del verano, el verano se la pasaron en inglés, aunque las familias hablan español en casa, los niños ven la televisión en inglés. Y yo pienso que no hay tanta comunicación en la casa con los padres. Porque sus conversaciones, y todo eso, o sea, ya no hay esa, esa manera de comunicarse fuera de lo que es la escuela. Y yo creo que todo lo hacen en inglés. Entonces llegan aquí, ya en quinto grado yo creo que es más... estructurado que los años anteriores. Supuestamente debemos de enseñar sesenta por ciento en

> español, cuarenta por ciento en inglés. Pero yo creo que estoy haciendo cincuenta-cincuenta. [...] Tú me has visto el *struggle* que es para... "¡Hablen español! ¡Hablen español!'"
>
> *["I feel that when they arrive to fifth grade, they don't want to speak Spanish anymore. They don't want to use it as much. Maybe because they come back from summer, they spend summer speaking English, even families that speak Spanish at home, the kids watch TV in English. And I think there isn't very much communication at home with the parents. Because their conversations, and all that... I mean, there's not... a way of communicating aside from school-related things. I think they do everything in English. So they get here, already in fifth grade I think it's more... structured than the previous years. Supposedly we should teach sixty percent in Spanish, forty percent in English. But I think I'm doing fifty-fifty. [...] You've seen me, the struggle it is... 'Speak Spanish! Speak Spanish!'"*

When asked if any student came to mind who almost always used Spanish during Spanish lessons, Ms. Torres responded no, that even students with relatively weak English skills used English during Spanish time. In another interview she commented on how resource classes diminished overall Spanish use:

> Lo frustrante es que las cosas divertidas para ellos es en inglés todo. Gimnasio, computadoras, música. Entonces es un, *it's a challenge* para el maestro que está enseñando español. [Si esas clases estuvieran en español] a lo mejor ayudaría. Salen, en cuanto salen de la puerta, todo es inglés, inglés, inglés, inglés. Y aun así. Pero, tratan ellos.
>
> *["The frustrating thing is that the fun things for them are all in English. Gym, computers, music. So, it's a challenge for the teacher who's teaching Spanish. [If these classes were in Spanish] it might help. As soon as they walk out the door, everything is English, English, English. But even so, they try."]*

I sought to understand how the teacher perceived the value of knowing Spanish in the classroom. When asked if knowing Spanish gained any kind of status for students, Ms Torres replied:

> No, no creo. Al contrario, creo, los que... son débiles en inglés, yo creo que quisieran alcanzar el nivel. Más bien me gustaría que fuera a la par, pero yo sé que va a ser imposible. El español siempre va a estar abajo. Porque no lo usan tanto. Y porque no... no sé cómo se enseña los grados antes, pero me imagino que su español no está al nivel como si estuviéramos en un país hispano. No, yo no creo que sea más o menos estatus,

> es simplemente académicamente que tendrían problemas. [...] Yo creo que no valoran el idioma tanto así.
>
> *["No, I don't think so. On the contrary, I think those who… are weak in English, I think they'd like to get better. I would like the languages to be equal, but I know it's impossible. Spanish will always be underneath. Because they don't use it much. And because they don't… I don't know how they teach the earlier grades, but I imagine that their Spanish isn't at the same level as if we were in a Hispanic country. No, I don't think it's more or less status, it's just that academically they would have problems. […] I think they don't value the language that much."]*

This quote indicates that English skills may be more important to students' sense of academic worth than their Spanish skills. Ms. Torres clearly stated that she believed the students did not value Spanish enough for it to influence their status in the classroom. In other words, it was not a sought-after *resource* (Norton 2000). I wondered if a lack of Spanish would create social problems for a student and asked whether a student would be made fun of for having poor Spanish skills, to which Ms. Torres replied:

> No. Porque es algo que, desde que están en preescolar, es el respeto a los dos idiomas [...] y las culturas. Nunca pueden llamar la atención para nada. Y tú los ves, cuando están leyendo [...] al contrario, [se] ayudan a decir bien las palabras.
>
> *[No, because it's something that, since they're in preschool, it's respect for the two languages […] and the cultures. They can never draw attention at all. And you see them, when they're reading […] on the contrary, they help each other say the words correctly."]*

According to Ms. Torres, good Spanish does not provide status among the students, nor does poor Spanish receive negative attention. In the following sections, I will discuss students' comments about each other's classroom Spanish, which seemed to corroborate that it was not a large factor in their popularity. However, Spanish did seem to bestow two specific classroom benefits: choosing to speak it seemed linked to an identity as academically successful[87], and as seen in section 4.7, proficiency in spoken Spanish seemed to enable students to be more successful at getting the floor during teacher fronted lessons.

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[87] However, in this classroom the students most fluent in oral Spanish were not always the most academically successful.

Research has indicated that more Spanish is used in immersion programs among younger students than older students (Tarone & Swain 1995; Blanco Iglesias et al. 1995). Although she herself had never taught any classes besides fifth grade, Ms. Torres did her student teaching in a third-grade classroom at the Inter-American, so I asked her whether it was easier to get the younger students to use Spanish:

> Yo creo que no. [...] Porque hay muchos niños que apenas lo están aprendiendo, sobre todo los niños americanos, los afroamericanos. Y hasta los hispanos, porque los mismos papás no hablan el español en casa. Yo creo que donde quieras, tienes que estarlos... y lo mismo los niños que hablan español... No tanto, dicen que los niños que hablan solamente el español más rápido agarran el idioma, porque estaba por todos lados. [....] A veces me pregunto, me pongo a pensar en esos niños [con L2 español]... están yendo, están pasando por lo que los niños que vienen de otros países aprendiendo idiomas. Con ese reto que tienen, que hay que aprender. Pero me imagino que si los papás están entusiasmados, ellos también.
> *[I don't think so. […] Because there are a lot of kids who are just beginning to learn, especially the American and Afro-American children. And even the Hispanics, because their parents don't speak Spanish at home. I think that wherever you are, you have to constantly be… and even kids who speak Spanish. Not as much, they say that kids who speak only Spanish pick up the language more quickly, because they are surrounded by it. […] Sometimes I ask myself, I start thinking about those kids [with L2 Spanish].. they are going through the same thing as kids who come from other countries, learning languages. That challenge, that they have to learn. But I imagine that if their parents are enthusiastic, they will be, too."]*

Although her experience did not corroborate research findings of greater Spanish use in younger grades, it is interesting that she felt that parental enthusiasm went a long way in determining a student's willingness to learn Spanish[88]. Despite Ms. Torres' struggles to get students to use Spanish and the lack of value she felt they placed on it, she stated that a school in the United States could not really do much more than the Inter-American was doing to promote Spanish use and learning:

> No, creo que no. Yo creo que básicamente lo que hacemos aquí, actividades que sean relevantes a la vida diaria de ellos, porque lo que tratamos de hacer primero, la familia y

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[88] In this section I will describe relevant comments from the focal students' mothers that suggest the family's level of enthusiasm for Spanish.

> todo lo demás. Y convivir, ¿no? Primero empiezan con el idioma fuerte de ellos, y luego van mezclándose.
>
> *[No, I don't think so. I think that basically what we do here, activities that are relevant to their daily lives, because what we try to do first, the family and all that. And work together, no? They start with their stronger language, and then they eventually blend together.]*

When asked how she encouraged students' Spanish use, Ms. Torres responded:

> "He tratado de hacer las actividades en español, hablar solamente español con ellos. Matemáticas también. Aunque a veces, cuando el concepto es un poco más difícil para ellos, lo hago en inglés para que lo entiendan. Más aparte, que los exámenes que hacen los niños son en inglés, los exámenes estandarizados. So el vocabulario, lo tenemos que ir desarrollando poco a poco."
>
> *[I have tried to do activities in Spanish, speak only Spanish with them. Math, too. Although sometimes when a concept is a little harder for them, I do it in English so they'll understand. Also, the exams they take are in English, the standardized exams. So vocabulary, we have to develop it little by little.]*

That she occasionally said things in English so the students would understand, particularly in preparation for standardized exams, echoes the comments of the eighth grade teacher quoted earlier.

Upon hearing a student use English, Ms. Torres would often insist "¡En español!" ("In Spanish") or "Es hora de español" ("It's Spanish time"). Ms. Torres told me that the previous year she charged students ten cents each time she caught them using English, and the money was used to buy pizza for the class (which seems more festive than punitive). She said this year's group was too immature for that policy, so instead she used a system of *canicas* (marbles).

Students could earn *canicas* for finishing their work on time, for using Spanish during groupwork, and for other behaviors the teacher wanted to reinforce. Students lost *canicas* primarily for using English during Spanish time. Ms. Torres would periodically allow students to trade in their *canicas* for items in a prize box – more *canicas* yielded more prizes. As will be seen in the individual student profiles ahead, students were generally excited to earn *canicas* and disappointed to lose them. However, their true efficacy as motivators for Spanish use is worth examining. According to one non-focal student in Ms. Torres' class, "[Students] don't really care about the *canicas*. Because they don't, like, they're not gonna keep them and stuff. And, like, sometimes when they take it away, they like, they get mad, but then they keep talking in English." An examination of my fieldnotes suggested that *canicas* were more often taken away for English use than awarded for Spanish use, although as we saw in section 4.7, Ms. Torres often accepted public on task English comments.

Another tactic had students act as language monitors. During Spanish reading lessons at the beginning of the year, each student at the table was assigned a "job" such as locating new vocabulary, making predictions, or forming questions about the plot and characters. One of these jobs was monitoring the language use of the group members. That student was responsible for giving two warnings to tablemates for using English. Upon the third infraction, that student was supposed to inform the teacher. Unfortunately, I did not observe this procedure first hand. One student told me that when she had this job, she sometimes forgot to monitor her tablemates' language use, while at other times she felt peer pressure not to report English use to the teacher: "You know how Teo and Jesús are friends, and then like if I tell something on Teo, to the teacher, then Jesús will be like, 'It's not him, it's not him', and stuff." The few times I did observe students telling on each other for using English, it appeared to be a retaliation to get the other student in trouble.

One Monday morning in October during the class' weekly "town meeting," Ms. Torres became very serious as she explained her frustration at students' use of English during Spanish time. Since this was the only town meeting I observed, I do not know how frequently she mentioned the students' language use. Another Spanish encouragement tactic Ms. Torres began using in January were laminated signs held by magnets to the blackboard. During Spanish lessons the sign said "Hora de español" (Spanish time) and during English lessons it was changed to one that read "English time." Once again, the teacher cited students' frequent use of English during Spanish time as she announced the new sign policy. However, perhaps due to the many demands of running a classroom, the signs were quickly abandoned. During morning Spanish classes, the English sign from the previous afternoon would still be displayed.

Despite these attempts to keep a Spanish-language environment, Ms. Torres herself occasionally made a few turns in English during Spanish lessons. Sometimes (but not always) it was for disciplining, such as during a math lesson in October when she interrupted her explanation in Spanish of latitude and longitude to reprimand a student in English: "I asked you not to be playing with the compass. Put it down." I rarely observed Ms. Torres using short Spanish turns during English lessons, for example when a Spanish L1 child was looking for a social studies map and she told him "Búscalo allí, mi amor" ("Look for it over there, my love").

Despite her occasional use of English during Spanish lessons, I always observed Ms. Torres using Spanish with the other two fifth grade teachers, even the English dominant one, both in private and in front of the students. This seemed to convey the message that the official school language was Spanish. But when students from the other fifth grade classes occasionally came to borrow books during Spanish time, she did not require them to use Spanish. Additionally, and I think significantly, she commented during an interview that she did not know how the other fifth grade teachers encouraged their students to use Spanish, indicating that it was not something they talked about during their frequent planning meetings.

As seen in chapter 4, the four focal students in my study showed considerable differences in their language use. When asked how she understood the different dispositions of her students to use Spanish, Ms. Torres said it had to do both with their families as well as their personal desire. She mentioned Teo, a very bright Spanish L2 boy whose parents fostered academic activities as an example of a hard-working, confident student who used a lot of Spanish:

> Yo creo que viene, tiene que tener raíz en la familia, pero también en la filosofía ya desde ahorita que tiene cada niño de lo que quieren hacer. Y el respeto. [...] Porque son tan confidentes, tienen tanta confianza en lo que son ellos, yo no sé si es lo que les ayude. Más aparte, que él estudia y hace su trabajo.

> *["I think it comes, it has its roots in the family, but also in the philosophy even starting now that each child has about what they want to do. And the respect. [...] Because they are so confident, they have such confidence in who they are, I don't know if that's what helps them. Also, he studies and does his work."]*

This quote suggests that the teacher linked efforts to speak Spanish with overall academic orientation; it will be shown that the students' interviews revealed a similar connection between Spanish and being a serious student. Ms. Torres also seemed to suggest that it takes a self-confident student to stick with Spanish amidst peers' English.

In summary, according to Ms. Torres, knowing more Spanish did not seem to bestow upon students greater prestige in the classroom except perhaps an identity as a serious student. Speaking English during Spanish time did not have severe repercussions: students were often not caught speaking English during groupwork, and if they were, they would get a verbal reprimand and/or lose a *canica*; they would not be looked upon badly by their classmates (unlike in another classroom I observed, where the *caninca*-equivalents were group-based and students would chastise each other for causing the group to lose one). As seen in pervious sections, the teacher often accepted public uses of English during teacher fronted lessons.

If "learners invest in a second [or first] language with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources" (Norton 2000:22, content in brackets mine), what "resources" were available to them in this classroom in exchange for their Spanish use and proficiency? And what other identity investments would promote Spanish use?

Even though Spanish was highly valued officially, overall academic achievement appeared most important to Ms. Torres. She expressed more concern about students who were struggling academically than those who had poor Spanish. As is the case in monolingual English schools, being a native speaker does not guarantee academic success; there were three Spanish L1 students whose oral Spanish was very proficient but who were not academically successful. There were also two Spanish L2 students who she considered extremely bright, despite their problematic Spanish production.

5.3 The four students

Each of the four students brought to the classroom differing historical, social, and linguistic relationships to Spanish. Each student was therefore likely to be treated by and react differently to the environment created by Ms. Torres and by the other students, and it is reasonable to posit that their language use[89] reflected those positionings. Several researchers have found that factors such as classroom identity (Willett 1995), power relationships to native speakers (Norton 2000) and competing identity agendas (McKay & Wong 1996) considerably influenced students' willingness and interest in speaking their second language. Although Spanish was actually a first language for two of the students in my study, both of them used English more frequently in their daily lives, and used it exclusively with friends. Spanish was therefore to a large extent the 'minority' language for all four students.

To restate a central concept explored in chapter 2, a person's identity includes not only how she views herself, but also how others view her and the roles they create for and allow her to display. All four of these students were very bright, friendly, and participatory. As seen in earlier sections of this chapter, they differed in their willingness to use Spanish in the classroom. Returning to Norton (2000), the term "power" refers to the socially constructed and constantly renegotiated relations among individuals, institutions and communities through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed, and validated. In this classroom, Ms. Torres controlled several resources, including the assignment of grades and classroom discipline, who got the floor during teacher-fronted lessons by selecting students or cutting them off, and how *canicas* were distributed and taken away. We saw in section 4.7 that the "right to speak" was not evenly distributed among these four students; we will see how power relations among peers enabled or constrained the expression of students' investment in Spanish. The analyses of these four students, while limited in scope, attempt to contribute something of significance to our understandings of dual immersion classroom processes.

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[89] McKay & Wong insisted that what impels a learner to certain language use behaviors is much more complex and much less conscious than implied in terms such as *choice*, but researchers select such terms for lack of better alternatives (1996:606).

In this section, I present qualitative interpretations of my observations and interviews with the four students, their mothers, and the teacher. I conducted only one interview with each student, which represents a limitation to the study. Students chose the language of the interview (all chose English) and, I think, expressed themselves freely. The girls were more talkative than the boys. The mothers, too, were interviewed only once. The teacher was interviewed formally twice, and I asked her questions informally during the six months I spent in her classroom.

5.3.1 Carolina

The Padilla family's home was located in a northwestern neighborhood of the city that held spacious houses and yards reminiscent of the suburbs. Carolina's mother, a human resources professional, came to the United States from Bolivia when she was five years old, and her father came from Guatemala after completing high school there. Carolina lived with her parents, two sisters, and her two maternal grandparents.

Mrs. Padilla had chosen the Inter-American for Carolina's older sister Natalie, who had just finished eighth grade and graduated from the school at the time of my visit to their home. Mrs. Padilla commented that where she herself had attended elementary school, the primary concern of educators was transitioning kids to all-English instruction as quickly as possible; she wasn't "reinforced in Spanish" until she attended high school. She wanted her children to be bilingual, "really bilingual. Not just in speaking, but in writing and so forth." Mrs. Padilla cited her own success upon entering the job market as proof of the importance of being bilingual. Despite her lack of experience, she was selected for a position based on her command of Spanish. As a result, she feels that "the more languages you know, the better you can market yourself. So I knew that was a big value for me, trying to find somewhere for them to be in school."

Although Mrs. Padilla liked the Montessori concept, "none of them had programs in Spanish, an immersion program like the Inter-American. I even looked at Disney [a prestigious magnet school] but it wasn't that focused on dual language." She did have doubts about the academic rigor of the Inter-American: "It's always a balance as a parent, trying to find a program that is academically strong versus one where it's very nurturing and open to participation. The Inter-American tends to be nurturing. In terms of the academics, they don't necessarily push as hard as some other schools." However, she chose the family environment and emphasis on Spanish for her two oldest daughters.

Since Natalie was already a student at the Inter-American, Carolina skipped the highly competitive lottery process and was automatically accepted for preschool in 1992 at the age of three. She spent two years in the preschool program. During the year of this study, her report card grades were high and she particularly enjoyed math and science. Her standardized test scores were above national norms. She was one of the most participant students in Ms. Torres' class and seemed to be one of her favorite students. She was also one of the most fluent Spanish-speakers in the class, receiving the highest ratings on the CAL examination team's oral Spanish assessment. Carolina also seemed very popular among her classmates. According to Mrs. Padilla, they were considering sending their three-year old daughter Sabrina to a school that pushed academics more, but "Carolina said no, it's a family tradition, you can't send her to another school!" On the written questionnaire, she commented that she would not be happy at a school that did not teach Spanish.

In section 4.6, we saw that Carolina used Spanish with the teacher very consistently but used English with her classmates 58% of the time. What may account for her language use? Through the descriptions that follow, I suggest that Carolina was very secure in her bilingual, bicultural identity. Her daily use of Spanish with her family, particularly with her monolingual grandparents and her little sister, as well as the family's frequent trips to Spanish-speaking countries, continuously developed her Spanish communication skills. This combined with (and/or resulted in) her high level of participation and positioned her as a successful student during Spanish language arts and social studies classes. She was willing and able to publicly conform to Ms. Torres' language expectations; in return, Ms. Torres frequently gave her the floor, both after Carolina had properly bid for it and, more interestingly, when she had not. With her peers, she used Spanish 48% of the time, most likely in an attempt to conform to the language rules (which was not difficult for her given her high oral Spanish proficiency). But since students generally preferred English, Carolina likely used it with them the other 58% of the time in order to remain in good social standing.

Although Carolina spoke only Spanish with her grandparents, language use in her family was often situation-specific. She said that she typically used English with her mother unless they were talking about a Spanish book or television program. She usually used Spanish with her father, particularly when he helped her with homework, but they used English if, for example, they were discussing a movie they had just seen in English. Her mother indicated that language use between her and her two oldest daughters was 70% English and 30% Spanish (particularly when she was angry with them: "I speak to them in English [laughs] because it comes easier for me"), while with her husband their language use was 60% English and 40% Spanish. Commenting on the fluidity of language use in the household, Mrs. Padilla stated, "They go back and forth, but one thing they don't do is confuse both of them within one sentence. If they start it in Spanish, they finish it." All members of the household used Spanish with the grandparents, with whom they gathered daily to watch Spanish television programs. Carolina said that she used only English with her older sister Natalie and both Spanish and English with her three-year-old sister Sabrina:

> "Since [Sabina's] just learning, my mom tells me when to speak Spanish with her or not because, sometimes she speaks Spanish so much that we try to change to English. So that when she goes to school they won't put her in limited English... because that's what they do sometimes, like on your records they would put limited English. Se we're trying to like balance it."

Carolina mentioned that since Natalie had been labeled "limited English," their parents used some English with Carolina in order to avoid the same fate. However, her mother did not mention this motive and in fact indicated that she and her husband spoke only Spanish to both Natalie and Carolina until they went to school. During our interview, Sabrina came in several times to compete for her mother's attention. They spoke only in Spanish, and Mrs. Padilla told me that Sabrina did not know much English. She then commented that "Carolina was the same way." I do not know how to reconcile these two versions of Carolina's early childhood language use, but what is certain is that Carolina's official school record lists both Spanish and English as the "language of the home," which does not appear on the records of any of her classmates. Outside of her household, Carolina indicated that she used Spanish with her uncle and his family in Rochester, New York, and with her father's brother in Chicago. She also mentioned a neighbor with whom she only used Spanish.

Both Carolina and her mother indicated that the family watched television and listened to the radio predominantly in Spanish. On more than one occasion I observed Carolina happily chatting with Ms. Torres about the latest plot in a *telenovela* (soap opera). Mrs. Padilla indicated her mother and two oldest daughters regularly watched *telenovelas*, an activity that she attempted to curtail but which she tended to accept with resignation and occasionally even joined. Carolina said that she also watched the program *Mad TV* with her older sister and sometimes watched news programs in English on the weekends. Carolina said that she rarely listened to music at home and that her mother "puts on this Spanish radio station called *La X Tropical*" and quickly added, "and Ms. Torres' husband works there." Although Mrs. Padilla corroborated that the radio was tuned to *La X Tropical* one hundred percent of the time, Carolina mentioned sometimes listening to a comedic morning disc jockey duo in English (again adding "and Ms. Torres likes it too") and that all of her personal CDs were in English.

A good command of Spanish is obviously advantageous to Carolina in order to interact with her family members. Her mother exhibited a positive attitude towards her native language and culture and felt secure in her daughters' appreciation of them. As an example, she cited Sabrina's musical preferences: when she hears the radio in English, she complains that she wants "the other one"; Mrs. Padilla then puts on *La X Tropical* "and she's happy. So in terms of them retaining the culture, I feel comfortable" (although she said that Natalie was "getting to the age where she wants to listen to English music"). When asked if she thought that Carolina would speak Spanish to her own children in the future, she responded, "She knows it's important for me that they learned Spanish. And she has enough cousins that haven't. And when they go to South America, their Spanish is atrocious. It's a shame. And she knows that's not good[90]." If the girls use English together during the family's almost yearly trips to Ecuador and Mexico, Mrs. Padilla reminds them, "If they hear you speaking English, they're gonna charge you in dollars," although she laments her own tendency to "slide into English and not even be conscious of it. So if they have me as the model, that doesn't do much to maintain the language." Still, the family's connections to Spanish appear to be strong.

Despite recognizing her own tendency to use English, Mrs. Padilla said that she found surprising "that all these kids, despite the fact that they speak Spanish, when they speak to one another they only speak English," which she routinely observed between Carolina and her friends when they came to the house. She posited that "It's a comfort level, maybe, it's what they see out there, it's on TV, it's the culture that they live in. And I think they won't appreciate it until they get older. I know I didn't." She asked me how parents can reinforce Spanish both inside and outside of the home, which I found somewhat in contradiction with her preference that her daughters discontinue their formal study of Spanish in high school and "pick up a third language." She commented that Natalie planned to study French in high school, "which is fine, because we use Spanish at home, and she's very comfortable and articulate. I think sometimes more than I am. So she wants to learn a third language" and that she will let Carolina decide what language to study in high school, although she admitted "I don't know if I would even encourage her to continue in Spanish, because I think that she has a solid foundation, going to Inter-American all these years." However, when asked, she commented that she had seen clear improvements in Carolina's English vocabulary but had not noticed the same phenomenon in her Spanish.

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[90] Since this interview was posterior to Carolina's, I could not ask Carolina how she felt about her cousins' Spanish.

In tune with the educational priorities and demands in the United States, Mrs. Padilla showed considerably more concern about her daughters' English development. She once took Natalie to be tested:

> "...and they found that her English grammar was not good. The person that tested her was bilingual and it seemed that they confuse the grammar, so I had to sign her up for tutoring in English so she wouldn't fall behind, especially because I was having her tested to go to high school. And with Carolina, I had her tested and it was the same thing, so I put her in the tutoring program. So that's one thing I'm concerned about, that they may not be learning English well enough to compete outside of Inter-American."

It seems accurate to say that for Mrs. Padilla, Spanish development was important as long as her children's English did not suffer, a very reasonable response to the linguistic environment in which she and her family live. Carolina's classroom language use may have reflected these competing demands.

Although Carolina earned good grades, her academic orientation was not uniformly strong. She enjoyed math and science, but Ms. Torres confirmed Mrs. Padilla's assessment that Carolina did not like to write in either language. She postponed writing assignments as long as she could and did not put much effort into them: "los escritos que ella hace son, ahi, nada mas, lo básico. No va más allá" ("Her writing is just, there that's it, basic things. She doesn't go further"). Her mother indicated that she resisted using the Spanish dictionaries that her parents bought her, which end up being several per year because she regularly "lost" them. Both women commented on the need to constantly monitor Carolina's homework or she simply would not do it:

> Ms. Torres: "Necesita empuje constante, o no te daría nada de tarea. El domingo en la noche, a las nueve de la noche está haciendo tarea. Y la mamá dice, ¿No que no tenías? Oh, es que eso se me olvidó, tenía algo que hacer. O a mí viene el lunes y me dice, 'Ah, es que no lo he terminado, te lo doy más tarde, es que lo estaba escribiendo,' cuando es mentira. Ni siquiera había empezado. Pero es una niña muy inteligente."
>
> *[Ms. Torres: "She needs constant pushing, or she wouldn't turn in any homework. Sunday night, at nine o'clock at night she's doing homework. And her mom says, I thought you didn't have any. Oh, I forgot, I had something to do. Or she comes to me on Monday and says, Oh, I haven't finished it, I'll give it to you later, I was writing it, but that's a lie, she hadn't even started. But she's a very intelligent girl."]*

This resistance to writing in either language seemed to only slightly jeopardize Carolina's overall academic success. She said at the time of the interview that she was reading a book in Spanish about the Aztecs (which her class was currently studying in social studies) because she wanted to be "advanced". She said that the previous school year she was "confused" during the unit about the Incas and fell behind. She obviously did not want to do poorly in school, although she did not appear to want to excel in areas that involved writing. She may have used as much Spanish as she did with the teacher in order to keep up an identity as a good student, particularly if she felt her writing would not do it for her.

Carolina was one of the most fluent Spanish speakers in the class. Ms. Torres rated her five out of five on Spanish listening, speaking, and reading, and a four in writing. Ms. Torres' ratings of each student's Spanish as well as students' ratings of themselves can be found in Appendix G. The CAL assessment team gave her an almost perfect rating for her oral production (Appendix A). I noticed her during my very first classroom visits because of her proficient Spanish and active participation during teacher fronted lessons. Carolina's own comments about her Spanish revealed that she was comfortable with the language although she rated herself slightly lower than Ms. Torres: a five in listening ("Because I really, really understand Spanish"), fours in speaking and reading, and a three plus in writing. Her explanations for her rating in speaking was interesting: ""I'm not that good like people think in Spanish because people keep on like judging me that I should really know a lot of Spanish since I come from a Spanish family. But sometimes it's not true, because sometimes you keep talking all this English and you start forgetting your Spanish." When asked who held these expectations of her Spanish, she responded that Melissa did. When I asked her how she knew that Melissa thought that way, Carolina replied "Well, because she sees me like answer all the questions but I have a dictionary in my desk, so I just flip through it and find the word that I'm trying to say."

These quotes are interesting for two reasons. That Melissa "saw Carolina answer questions" does not adequately explain Carolina's belief that Melissa judged her in that way. Perhaps Melissa had expressed to Carolina some emotion regarding Carolina's Spanish use or proficiency. Secondly, I never did observe Carolina using a dictionary for anything besides written classroom assignments. During the many hours I watched her in class, she shouted out Spanish answers with ease. Also noteworthy is Carolina's reluctance to accept a position as a superior Spanish speaker by virtue of coming from a Spanish-speaking family. In the next section I will suggest that Melissa did just the opposite: she enjoyed receiving praise for her Spanish precisely because it was not expected of her as a non-native speaker.

Carolina rated herself a four in reading, describing an "really cool" internal process of adding voices to the text: "I start reading it and then I hear a little voice reading it to me. Like a narrator, who would have a different voice than the person who is talking. It wouldn't be my voice, it would be a different person." This may reflect memories of being read to in Spanish, or of having access to multiple voices that she has heard in Spanish in her life. Finally, she rated herself a three plus in writing because "Sometimes I put a word and the phrase wouldn't make sense. I trade, I change Spanish into English and then English into Spanish. Or I write it down so fast that I keep on forgetting all these words."

At the beginning of the school year, the class did a language arts exercise designed by Ms. Torres that consisted of writing answers to four questions about Spanish use (displayed in Table 43). As discussed in Chapter 3, I gave students a written questionnaire (Appendix B) on which they checked off their level of agreement with 24 statements about Spanish and English. While neither of these instruments offers a reliable in-depth exploration of students' feelings about the two languages, I will discuss interesting aspects of the four students' responses since they may represent an index of their investment in Spanish.

In the language arts exercise, Carolina answered somewhat vaguely that Spanish is important "in order to understand people." She said that in order to understand Spanish more, she needs to speak it more, to go to South America to accustom herself to speaking it, and to do projects in Spanish. On the written questionnaire, she indicated "true" for all statements about enjoying hearing the two languages, the importance of knowing them in Chicago, and a desire for her hypothetical future children to know them. The only answers lowered to "kind of true" were about enjoying the way the languages are taught in school, wanting to marry someone who speaks Spanish, and the need to know Spanish to get a good job.

Table 43: Questions dictated to students in Spanish, 8/30/99

1) ¿Por qué creen que es importante que ustedes sepan español? [Why do you think it's important to for you to know Spanish?]

2) Fuera de la clase (en el *playground*, en la cafetería) o de la escuela, ¿dónde usan el español? [Outside of class (on the playground, in the cafeteria) or school, where do you use Spanish?]

3) ¿Qué creen que necesitan para mejorar su español? Denme ideas, como lo pueden mejorar. [What do you think you need in order to improve your Spanish? Give me ideas, how you can improve it.]

4) ¿Cómo les puedo ayudar yo? ¿Qué quieren que yo haga? [How can I help you? What do you want me to do?]

In the interview, Carolina indicated that she would not be happy in a school that taught only English because she "might forget Spanish". She said that she felt happy with the 50-50 language split used in fifth grade, although she would like science to be taught in English. She also demonstrated an awareness of how the Inter-American compared to other schools regarding language instruction:

> "Most of the schools aren't really bilingual. Like they teach simple words in third grade. Here they teach 'em Spanish from really little, because they do mostly Spanish from preschool to fourth. I think it's cool because in other schools they only speak Spanish in Spanish class, but here you can speak it in math and science class. Then you can learn stuff in Spanish and when you're communicating with people in Spanish, you know what they're talking about."

Ms. Torres said that Carolina liked Spanish and was proud to be able to speak it, but was not enthusiastic about Mrs. Padilla's use of English:

> "He descubierto, sus papás tendieron a hablar, como tiene otra hermana mayor, tendieron mucho a ayudar con el inglés. Y ya hablan mucho inglés en casa. Eso no le ha ayudado a Carolina. Yo las he visto a las dos y ella y su mamá se comunican mucho en inglés en vez de en español. Pero aun así, mantienen el español por la abuelita. Yo pienso que le gusta. Y que se siente orgullosa de poder hablarlo, y poder comunicarse en el español, sí."
>
> *["I have discovered, her parents tended to speak, since she has an older sister, they tended to help with English. And they now speak a lot of English at home. That hasn't helped Carolina. I've seen them together and she and her mom speak English a lot instead of Spanish. But even still, they maintain Spanish because of the grandmother. I think she likes it. And she feels proud to be able to speak it, and be able to communicate in Spanish, yes."]*

Ms. Torres generally felt very positive about Carolina, although she did express feeling that Carolina was sometimes too aggressive with her:

> "Yo la he sentido conmigo que es como, se siente al igual, me entiendes. Y siempre, yo hago algo que ella no está de acuerdo y me pregunta inmediatamente. A veces de manera brusca. Que yo a veces siento de irrespetuosa. Pero ésa es mi manera de pensar, no sé, a lo mejor ella lo está viendo como si nada, como *you're just like me*. Mrs. L [su maestra del año pasado] también estaba viendo cierta rebeldía en ella al final del año."
>
> *["I have felt that with me she's... she feels equal, you understand. And whenever I do something that she doesn't agree with, she asks me immediately. Sometimes in a brusque way. Which I sometimes feel is disrespectful. But that's my way of thinking, I don't know, maybe she sees it as normal, as you're just like me. Mrs. L [her teacher last year] also began seeing some rebelliousness in her at the end of the year"]*

Ms. Torres posited that Carolina's "rebeldía" was related to a desire to escape the shadow of her older sister Natalie, who excelled at school:

> "También tenía que ver con la hermana. Está en octavo grado ahorita, y es superinteligente. *Book smart*. Carolina es *street smart*. Ella es muy, muy, capta todo rapitido, parece una esponja. Pero la otra niña, ella se dedica fuerte a los estudios. Y creo que ha sido aceptada en los mejores *high schools*. La mamá dice que está preocupada porque Carolina no le da duro a los libros. Carolina pudiera ser una gran

> estudiante, si ella se aplica. [...] Yo pensé que yo era, que era yo a la que ella no estaba respondiendo, que había algo conmigo que no... pero no. Yo creo que siente la comparación, o la presión de su hermana y a lo mejor no le interesa ser como la hermana, quiere ser diferente."
>
> *[It also has to do with her sister. She's in eighth grade now, and she's super intelligent. Book smart. Carolina is street smart. She gets everything really fast, like a sponge. But the other girl, she dedicates herself strongly to her studies. And I think she's been accepted to the best high schools. Her mom says she's worried because Carolina doesn't hit the books very hard. Carolina could be a great student, if she applied herself. [...] I thought that it was me, what she wasn't responding to, that there was something in me that didn't... but no. I think she feels the comparison, or the pressure, of her sister and maybe she's not interested in being like her sister, she wants to be different.]*

Although Carolina may have expressed this rebellion through an avoidance of written homework, as seen in previous sections of this chapter her classroom language use tended to follow the rules. She used Spanish with the teacher 91% of the time, more than the other three students (with Melissa only slightly behind at 88%). She used Spanish not just while doing schoolwork but for off task comments as well, including chatting with the teacher between lessons and, according to Carolina, somewhat rarely on the playground when talking about *telenovelas* with classmates. Her participation during teacher-fronted lessons was very constant. Sometimes she was the only student to volunteer an answer; she was often the first student to answer, and her classmates sometimes expanded on and even repeated her answers. It is likely that the frequency and fluency of Carolina's Spanish participation pleased Ms. Torres, who encouraged Carolina's Spanish use by granting her the floor more often (as shown in section 4.7).

With peers, Carolina used 42% English, more than Melissa but less than the boys. We saw in section 4.6 that she used English to present her knowledge of popular music, radio stations, and television shows, as well as to engage in anti-school discourse. Carolina recognized that she and her classmates sometimes used English during Spanish time, indicating that it was because they forgot or "They're sometimes more comfortable, and they use it a lot. Because I mean, when we're in recess, we all wanna just speak English." She said her own use of English during Spanish time was due to the fact that outside of class, "I talk English most of the time. I don't really, like, use the Spanish that much." When asked how students reacted to Ms. Torres' use of the *canica* system, she responded, "Sometimes we just don't talk because we are afraid that we might start speaking English." In a pilot interview, another student had said the same thing – students sometimes preferred to remain quiet rather than to speak in Spanish with each other.

However, Carolina seemed to have a reputation among her peers as a proficient and frequent user of Spanish. The other three focal students and Delia, the pilot interview student, rated Carolina's Spanish proficiency and use very high. Carolina was the first student that Delia mentioned when asked which of her classmates spoke Spanish well. Melissa said of Carolina, "She participates a lot in Spanish class and uses words that I don't really even know, but then sometimes she asks the same questions as I do." Otto said that Carolina used a lot of Spanish because "it's her language," Matt because "she's really good at Spanish, because most of her family talks Spanish. She usually talks Spanish." We have seen that Carolina disagreed with this idea that coming from a Spanish-speaking family automatically meant high Spanish proficiency. It may be that Carolina's identity as a good Spanish speaker was displayed enough during teacher fronted lessons that she did not feel the need to insist on using Spanish during groupwork. It may also be that she did not wish to risk exclusion from social talk with her peers, which took place in English.

Carolina was generally well liked by her classmates. In early February, Ms. Torres allowed each student to write the names of three classmates with whom they would prefer to sit, and six students chose to sit with Carolina. She was chosen more times than the other three focal students, who were chosen four times each[91], and by this measure she was the second most popular girl in the class. The most popular girl, Allison, was chosen by ten students. Carolina picked Matt (Spanish L1), Eleanor (Spanish L2), and Daniel (Spanish L1, the most often chosen boy) to work with.

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[91] All of the focal students were popular with their classmates; only three of the other 16 students in the classroom were chosen four times or more.

Ms. Torres indicated that the boys felt uncomfortable around most of the girls but that "they saw Carolina as one of them". She was more interested in playing soccer with the boys than in flirting with them, as some of her classmates had begun to do. In fact she said she preferred playing with the boys because she could steal the ball away from the girls too easily.

In summary, Carolina seemed to be a well-accepted beer among the girls boys in her class. Along with her knowledge of TV shows and popular culture, her knowledge of Spanish seemed to gain her acceptance and respect from her peers as well as opportunities to speak from the teacher. However, she seemed to feel more proficient in English and may have believed that using English was the key to gaining the greatest acceptance from classmates, especially given her emerging anti-school discourse and resistance to doing homework. However, Carolina was used to using both Spanish and English at home, which may have caused her to feel secure using Spanish at school. I noticed that some Spanish L1 students with weaker academic English skills seemed more hesitant to use Spanish, which may have been in order to prove that they knew English. Carolina's investments in an identity as a good student seemed to be promoting her Spanish use, while her desire to keep friends (who used slang and talked about preadolescent referents) probably motivated her English use.

5.3.2 Matt

Matt's family occupied all three apartments in a building on the north side of Chicago. His mother, Mrs.Castillo, came to the United States from El Salvador when she was eighteen years old. Her husband, Matt's stepfather, was Euro-American, but Matt had retained his father's Hispanic surname. Matt's bilingual school report listed Spanish as his home language, but he and his mother said that both Spanish and English were spoken at home.

Matt's mother chose the Inter-American because her niece's parents highly recommended it. Matt's first lottery bid was accepted and he entered preschool in September of 1993. When asked to describe the school, Mrs. Castillo said that it was very different from the neighborhood schools she had visited because it was smaller and better organized. She was impressed that despite never having formally met the principal before, Mrs. Hastings had once greeted her by name. She then commented that the bilingual programs in other schools did not teach Spanish well, while at the Inter-American "el primero es español" ("Spanish is first"). She said this was important in her decision because:

> "A veces es muy difícil para uno que trabaja estarles enseñando... se lo puede enseñar uno a hablar, pero ya para escribirlo bien y leerlo bien es bastante difícil. Ellos no lo aprenden eso estas escuelas de acá. [...] El inglés, siempre lo van a aprender. Pero el segundo idioma, que es el de la familia y de donde uno viene, es bastante difícil porque uno esta en un ambiente donde más inglés se habla que el idioma de uno."
>
> *["Sometimes it's very difficult for someone who works to teach them... one can teach them to speak, but to write it well and read it well, it's quite difficult. They don't learn that in these schools around here. [...] English, they're always going to learn. But the second language, which is the one of the family and where one comes from, it's very difficult because one is in an environment where more English is spoken than one's own language."]*

It is interesting that she referred to Spanish as the children's "second" language, although they learned it first. It does appear that Spanish is second in importance in their lives. Mrs. Castillo said that her son and his friends identified more with English than with Spanish: "Ellos dicen, 'De aquí somos, aquí nacimos y éste es el idioma de nosotros, el que necesitamos más'" ("They say, 'We're from here, we were born here and this is our language, the one we need more'"). However, Mrs. Castillo wanted Matt to know Spanish because "Es de donde él viene. El *background* de él, ¿no? De donde él desciende, aunque aquí nazca. Quiero que conozca la cultura y el idioma y todo." (It's where he comes from. His background, no?

Where he descends from, although he was born here. I want him to know the culture and the language and everything").

Matt was successful and well adjusted at school. According to his mother, "se siente como en familia, se siente muy identificado con todos" ("He feels like he's in a family, he identifies with everyone"). He received high grades, particularly in math and science, although like Carolina he disliked writing in English or Spanish. He told me that if he did not become a professional soccer player, he would like to be a scientist. His mother encouraged his academic pursuits outside of the classroom by enrolling him in the filmmaking and chemistry courses he selected for an upcoming summer program. His enjoyment of learning was also reflected in his comment that he liked that the teachers at the Inter-American were strict because students could get work done.

What may help us understand Matt's classroom language use as seen in the earlier sections of this chapter? Despite his familial identification with Spanish, he used only English with his stepfather and preferred to use English with his mother, sister, and friends. He also used a lot of English during Spanish classes, particularly with his peers, perhaps because his desire fit in with his peergroup (and his occasional attempts to subordinate them) ruled out speaking Spanish. Like Carolina, he bid for and was granted the floor quite often. He was very bright, with his frequent volunteering of answers reflecting his investment in an identity as a conscientious student. At other times he clearly wanted to be identified as resistant to the academic demands placed on students. This resistance seemed to include an avoidance of using Spanish. However, since he also wanted to avoid getting into trouble, he seemed to speak the minimal amount of Spanish required to stay on good terms with the teacher.

Mrs. Castillo told me that when she spoke to Matt in Spanish, he almost always answered her in English and/or indicated that he did not understand what she said, "And I have to tell him in English". She noticed that his Spanish vocabulary and syntax had declined over the past year: "Antes ponía las preguntas bien. Hoy no. Lo que quiere decir en español me lo piensa en inglés. Me hace las preguntas como que me las está diciendo en inglés. También hay palabras que se le olvidan y le digo, pero esto lo sabías antes" ("He used to say questions correctly. Not today. What he wants to say in Spanish, he thinks about it in English. He asks me questions like he's saying them in English. There are also words that he forgets and I tell him, but you used to know this").

Mrs. Castillo said that Matt spoke only English with her husband (who did not know Spanish) and with his younger sister, while Matt described his language use with his sister as *Spanglish*, "When you mix it up, starting with Spanish and ending with English." Matt used Spanish every day before and after school with his grandparents and great grandparents who lived downstairs, but as his mother said, "Aquí arriba es puro inglés" ("Here upstairs is only English"). The only other people with whom Matt said he used Spanish outside of school were two friends at church.

Both Matt and his mother said that the television programs he watched and music he listened to were all in English (she said that Matt left the room whenever she put on Spanish television programs) but that he did watch an occasional soccer news show in Spanish. Although half of the library books that Mrs. Castillo regularly brought home for Matt were in Spanish, she said that he read more in English. She also indicated that he might not want to continue studying Spanish in high school.

Despite this preference for English, when Matt's parents mentioned moving to the suburbs and told him that he would only find English-speaking children there, "Me dice, '¿No voy a hablar español o qué?' Se quedó pensativo, como que no le gusta mucho la idea. " ("He says to me, 'I'm not going to speak Spanish or what?' He was pensive, like he doesn't like the idea very much"). His mother also said that Matt pays attention to entertainment figures like Jennifer Lopez, Ricky Martin and Christina Aguilera and can identify their Latin origins: "Alguien de su cultura, de su raza, sale adelante. Creo que siente mucha conexión con eso" ("Someone from his culture, his race, gets ahead. I think he feels very connected to that"). Mrs. Castillo was happy with the level of Hispanic culture taught at the Inter-American: "Han trabajado con la cultura mexicana, la inmigración, todo eso. A veces aquí no les dan la información, piensan que solo pasan el rio y ya estuvo, no traemos un *background*, una cultura para acá" ("They have worked with Mexican culture, immigration, all of that. Sometimes here they don't give them information, they think that they just cross the river and that's the end of it, that we don't bring a background, a culture over here").

Despite her positive feelings about the Inter-American, Mrs. Castillo shared some of the same fears as Carolina's mother about her son's English development:

> "Muchas veces me han dicho que el inglés de los niños bilingües no es igual al inglés del niño que sólo habla inglés. Eso puede causar problemas en la hora de ir a la *high school.* También puede ser que eso no les afecte, pero hay que poner un poquito de la parte de la casa, empujarlos un poquito y agarran más inglés. Les digo a mis amigas, muchas tienen a sus nenes en solo inglés. Y dicen, es un mal que se le hace al niño, ponerlo en bilingüe, porque no hablan el mismo nivel de inglés que tienen que hablar. Tiene siempre un poco de acento. A la vez, no estoy de acuerdo. Tal vez en algunos niños es así, pero no en todos. Depende del niño. Hay niños que están en sólo inglés y el inglés de ellos no es tampoco bueno."
>
> *["Many times I've heard that the English of bilingual children isn't the same as the English of a child who only speaks English. That can cause problems when it's time to go to high school. It may not affect them, but you have to push them a little at home and they'll learn more English. I tell my friends, a lot of them have their kids in only English. And they say, it's something bad that is done to kids, putting them in bilingual, because they don't have the level of English that they should. They always have a little bit of an accent. At the same time, I don't agree. Maybe for some kids that's true, but not all. It depends on the child. There are children in English only and their English isn't good, either."]*

This quote reveals some ambivalence about the benefits of being bilingual, similar to those expressed by Mrs. Padilla. Mrs. Castillo may have nothing to worry about, since Matt had no noticeable accent in his English and he did very well in school and on standardized tests, yet her fears about his English development may have been what caused her not to push her son to use Spanish with her.

When I asked Ms. Torres to name students with high Spanish proficiency (what she called "fuertes en español", strong in Spanish), the first student she mentioned was Matt, saying that he was "fabulous." However, in the second interview she rated his listening and reading comprehension a five (Appendix G) but put his spoken Spanish at only a three plus, elaborating on what she felt were his underutilized Spanish skills: "Y sí lo sabe hablar bien, pero ya mete mucho inglés. También la mamá, si no se esfuerza le habla más en inglés" ("He does know how to speak it well, but he puts a lot of English in there now. Also his mom, if she doesn't work at it, he speaks to her more in English"). Ms. Torres commented that Matt often told her that he did not understand or know how to say things, and she attributed Matt's weaknesses in Spanish in part to the fact that his stepfather did not speak Spanish. She rated his writing a four, saying that he wrote surprisingly well in Spanish ("even better than Carolina" in regards to spelling and other conventions) although the content was limited to "the basics". His mother confirmed that he did not like to write in either language, preferring to finish quickly rather than plan and revise his work.

Matt's ratings of his own Spanish were similar to Ms. Torres': three plus in speaking ("Sometimes I talk English in Spanish class"), four plus in writing ("I like writing in Spanish, even if sometimes I don't know words but I always look in the bilingual dictionary") and reading ("I read a lot of Spanish in third grade and I got used to it") and five minus in listening ("Because I know a lot of words"). He made an interesting comment while rating Melissa's Spanish: "She's high, because she talks very little in English during Spanish class. I think she's better than me in Spanish. Not like in the words because she doesn't know a lot of words, but she's better in controlling her language." This suggests that Matt knew he was "better" at the "words" (more linguistically proficient) but was aware that Melissa used Spanish more than he did.

When asked, Matt exhibited positive attitudes toward Spanish. For Mrs. Torres' language arts exercise in Table 43, Matt wrote that that it was important to know Spanish "Porque es el idioma de tu cultura y hay cosas en español que tenemos que leer" ("Because it's the language of your culture, and there are things in Spanish that we have to read"). On the questionnaire, he indicated that Spanish was important on various levels (for a good job, for his future spouse and children, and in Chicago) but that he liked speaking Spanish slightly less than speaking English. When asked in the interview what was important to succeed at the school, Matt was the only focal student who mentioned "knowing Spanish and English".

Despite these pro-Spanish responses, he also said that there was "too much Spanish" at the school, particularly since the standardized ITBS math tests were in English: "Sometimes [having math class in Spanish] is bad, because in the Iowa tests, there's these words in English that they never told us, and like at the last minute they give us these sheets that say some words in English". He also said he would prefer that science be taught in English because it would be "Easier. There are some words I don't know in Spanish, in science". And in his interview, he commented that learning Spanish was important at school only for Spanish class, nothing more, and that Spanish class was so boring that he "almost fell asleep once."

Although Matt was the first student Ms. Torres mentioned for high Spanish proficiency, she did not consider his attitudes towards Spanish very positive. It was while discussing Carolina's attitudes that Ms. Torres first revealed her opinions about Matt's:

> "Yo pienso que [a Carolina] le gusta. Y que se siente orgullosa de poder hablarlo, y poder comunicarse en el español, sí. Pero Matt es diferente. [*risa*] Él niega más. Pero es por la edad ahorita, yo creo que él está más rebelde."
>
> *["I think that [Carolina] likes Spanish. And she feels proud to be able to speak it, to be able to communicate in Spanish, yes. But Matt is different. [laughter] He refuses more. But it's because of their age right now, I think he's more rebellious."]*

Matt was one of the five students Ms. Torres mentioned from whom she most frequently took away *canicas* for speaking English. When asked how students felt when a *canica* was taken away, she replied:

> "No les gusta. 'Oh, pero yo no estaba hablando.' 'No, pero es que él me preguntó en inglés.' Lo niegan. Ay, sobre todo Matt. Siempre está batallando. Se les ve la cara, el enojo. Y muy claro lo veo yo, sobre todo en Otto. Y claro, Matt, no tengo que verlo. Él me lo dice. Es muy defensivo. Él siempre está defendiéndose."

> ["They don't like it. 'Oh, but I wasn't talking. 'No, but he asked me in English.' They deny it. Ay, especially Matt. He's always fighting. You can see the anger on their faces. I see it very clearly, especially in Otto. And of course Matt, I don't have to see it. He tells me. He's very defensive. He's always defending himself."]

Several examples of Matt resisting reprimands and punishments for speaking English were seen in section 4.6. Although Matt seemed to dislike being publicly reprimanded for speaking English, Ms. Torres said that when he was caught, he did not make an effort to change his linguistic behavior and speak Spanish (which was also evident in section 4.6). However, she was happy with his level of participation in both languages: "Le encanta participar. Y eso es lo que me gusta de él. Siempre está dispuesto a dar sus ideas" ("He loves to participate, which is what I like about him. He's always willing to give his ideas"). Perhaps for this reason, Ms. Torres gave him the floor as often as she did. As seen in section 4.7, he made more verbal bids and had a higher percentage of accepted verbal bids than the other three students. Like Carolina, Matt's bidding strategies may have been partially responsible for his success in gaining the floor. He did use quite a bit of public English, although Ms. Torres often reminded him that he should be using Spanish or requested that he repeat himself in Spanish. It also seemed that Ms. Torres genuinely liked Matt.

The other focal students rated Matt's Spanish use as medium. Melissa made the astute observation that "He knows lots of words in Spanish but he doesn't really use them that much. When I was at his table, he kind of goofed around a lot so lots of times when he probably did know the words I was asking him about, he didn't say them." We saw in section 4.6 that "goofing around" took place almost entirely in English, so this comment supports the idea that these students associated Spanish use with an academic focus. When asked why he used English during Spanish class, Matt replied (similarly to Carolina) that he was "used to talking in English."

Matt seemed to want to be perceived as a conscientious and helpful student, which was evident in the examples in section 4.6, including volunteering to lower the overhead screen, his successful fight to be the *mensajero*[92] and in the following two responses. When Ms. Torres asked the class why they thought she was making them read a lot of Spanish, Matt answered, "Para mejorar" ("To improve"), and when she reminded them that she was going to take away *canicas* if they kept using English, he suggested she take away a dollar instead. These comments, even if insincere, seemed to indicate a desire to be publicly perceived as a good student.

On the other hand, Matt was also interested in being popular. He was picked as a tablemate by Carolina, Eleanor, José and Lázaro. He picked Melissa, Teo, and Jesús. It is interesting that he did not pick either José or Lázaro to work with, two boys with whom he spent most of his social time. Ms. Torres once told me that the three should never be seated together because they went off task too easily. Although they sat together the day Ms. Torres was absent and they often spent quiet reading time together, Matt may have known that being seated at a table with them may have put into conflict two of his investments: to be funny and accepted by his peers, and to be considered a good student by Ms. Torres. The students he chose to work with, particularly Melissa and Teo (both Spanish L2), were among the top achievers in the class.

We saw in section 4.6 that Matt's interaction with his peers exhibited a rebellious stance towards school as well as attempts to subordinate his peers. Ms. Torres said that Matt was a good kid, but that:

> "Ahorita está en la edad de la rebeldía y de que está fijándose en las muchachas... y él está ya muy, muy consciente de la popularidad que tiene. Y se está dejando influenciar por las amistades que tiene. Tiene como cinco amigos, y de todos él es el mejor académicamente. Y de sus valores, porque su mamá lo mantiene muy al margen de todo, que sea un niño bueno todavía, respetuoso, conmigo sobre todo. Se enoja con la tarea, eso ha sido su pleito conmigo, de que hay mucha tarea. Pero de todas maneras, él dice, 'Oh mi mamá te quiere mucho porque tú dejas mucha tarea, así no puedo jugar, así no puedo meterme en problemas' [*risa*]. Porque él tiene presión en casa, cuando no hace la tarea, tiene consecuencias. Le quitan sus juguetes, no puede visitar amigos. Y él sabe, su mamá siempre está pendiente, y me gusta tener buena comunicación con ella. Pero

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[92] Students volunteered to hold a classroom 'job' for a month, including *mensajero* (messenger), *almuerzo* (collecting and delivering lunch money and distributing cafeteria tickets), and *pizarrón* (erasing the blackboard).

> aun así no he sentido que se resiente conmigo, que se enoje conmigo. So es un niño bueno... podía ser mejor, si pusiera más esfuerzo. Pero va bien."
>
> ["Right now he's at the age of rebellion and starting to notice girls, and he's very, very conscious of his popularity. And he's letting himself be influenced by his friends. He has like five friends, and he's the best academically of all of them. And in his values, because his mom keeps him away from everything, that he's still a good kid, respectful, above all with me. He gets mad about homework, that's been his fight with me, that there's a lot of homework. But even still he says, 'Oh my mom likes you a lot because you give a lot of homework, so I can't go play or get in trouble.' [*laughter*] Because he has pressure at home, when he doesn't do his homework he has consequences. They take his toys away, he can't go see friends. And he knows, his mom is always on top of things, and I like having good communication with her. But even still, I haven't felt that he's gotten mad at me. So he's a good kid... he could be better, if he put more effort. But he's doing well."]

Matt's desire to avoid getting in trouble at school may have been motivated by the fact that his mother kept in touch with Ms. Torres about her son's behavior and academic performance and imposed negative consequences if either one was unsatisfactory. Being a good student involved staying on task and following the language rules, both of which he seemed to do enough to avoid getting in any serious trouble.

During teacher fronted lessons, Matt invested in his identity as a good student by using Spanish. During groupwork, he invested in his social status with his peers by using English to resist school, make jokes, and subordinate his peers.

5.3.3 Melissa

Melissa Young's apartment was located on the top floor of a two-flat building in a popular north side neighborhood filled with cafés and restaurants. Her home was English speaking – her parents, both educators, were of Irish and German descent. Her mother did not know Spanish beyond a rudimentary level, but her father worked with Latinos in his school district and according to his wife developed a "fluent" level of Spanish by taking courses in college and speaking it daily at work. They decided to send Melissa to the Inter-American primarily for her to learn Spanish, which they considered "the second language of the world", and for her to learn diversity, tolerance, and cultural sensitivity. Additionally, Mrs. Young's sister was married to a man from Mexico, which they felt provided an important family connection to the Spanish language and Mexican culture.

When looking for a school for Melissa, the Youngs were clear that simple Spanish classes would not have been enough; they "wanted it where she would really learn the language." When they learned of the Inter-American from other parents in the program where they had been taking Melissa at the age of two, they heard that it was almost impossible for a white child to be accepted there because of the school's requirement that 60% of the students be Latino. Indeed, Melissa was not accepted for preschool and missed the lottery again for kindergarten. At that time, Mrs. Young wrote a letter to the school pledging her support: "I said I'll volunteer, I'll do anything." She continually called the school until a slot opened in July for the school year beginning in September 1994.

According to her mother, Melissa was "the only white child in her kindergarten class". Her mother recalls that Melissa felt different from the other children and often asked when her hair would get dark or curly like the other girls'. One evening her mother put her to bed with braided wet hair, and the frizzy result the following morning was thrilling to Melissa. During my time at the school, her best friend was a girl from Brazil, whom Mrs. Young said was "the first white child Monica identified with when she came to the school. 'There's somebody else with hair like mine'." However, Mrs. Young described the first four months at the Inter-American as horrible for Melissa because she could not understand Spanish: "She was in tears. That's probably why she learned Spanish as quickly as she did, because she couldn't stand to sit there and have a story be read and not understand it." Her mother began to volunteer in the classroom three days a week in order to help her daughter.

Mrs. Young recalled how Melissa excitedly announced to her parents that she would be learning to read in Spanish before English. Her parents placed labels on items around the house with their names first in Spanish, then in English; Melissa was asked which items she wanted to include. The family's home library had picture books in both Spanish and English, as well as picture dictionaries and children's music in Spanish. Given Mr. Young's knowledge of Spanish, they would occasionally have "Spanish speaking night" in the house.

When I met her, Melissa was very successful at the Inter-American. She consistently earned the highest report card grades of 4 and 4+, her standardized test scores were well above national averages and had begun prompting letters from colleges, she had received school awards for her English fiction writing, and both Ms. Torres and the CAL research team rated her Spanish proficiency as good. Her mother commented that socially, Melissa felt like a group member at the school. When the Youngs considered having her tested and transferred to another school because of fears that the sixth through eighth grade program was not academically rigorous, Mrs. Young recalls that "Melissa totally freaked out. She goes, 'You rip that [application] up right now, mom. I don't even want it in the house. I am not going to another school. I don't care, [the Inter-American] is the best school in the world'."

What helps us understand Melissa's Spanish language use patterns as seen in Chapter 4? My interpretation is that although she was not from a native Spanish-speaking family, an important element of the identity she created for herself included "Spanish-speaking". This portion of her identity did have family connections through her uncle, and the praise she received for speaking Spanish outside of school was a significant source of personal pride. She invested further in this identity at school by speaking Spanish with the teacher and, more notably, with her classmates, who usually answered her in English. Therefore, for Melissa, speaking Spanish appeared to be more than just an issue of being a good student who followed the language rules, although it accrued those benefits to her as well. However, her intense academic focus, "work first" attitude, and insistence on using Spanish with her peers seemed to create contradictions with her desire to be accepted by her classmates. Melissa seemed to experience a degree of peer pressure to use English, and as seen in section 4.6, several attempts were made by peers to position her as too academically focused. However, overall she seemed to successfully balance her agendas of being a Spanish speaker and good student with having friendly relationships with classroom peers.

Although English was the language spoken in the Young household, Spanish played a positive role in the family as a source of entertainment, pride, and connection to the community. Melissa said that her father played Spanish word games with her at home and sometimes threw in Spanish words when talking to her, such as telling her to "Go practice your *violincillo*." Melissa and her father asked each other for help with Spanish words, although both Melissa and her mother felt that Melissa's Spanish was now better than her father's. Even Mrs. Young boasted that her own Spanish had improved over the last three years, which was noticed by the Latino parents of her students. Mrs. Young indicated that in the past, Melissa and her younger brother Mark would spontaneously declare "Spanish only" time on a Sunday afternoon from 1:00 until suppertime and do all their playing in Spanish, although Melissa said that now she only used Spanish with Mark when helping him with homework. Mrs. Young also told of how Melissa would occasionally break into Spanish while talking with her in the kitchen, totally unaware of the language shift. She also spoke with their Latino neighbor downstairs in Spanish.

The family encouraged Melissa's Spanish development in several ways. Mrs. Young commented that since her daughter looked up every word she did not understand, they bought her an expensive electronic translator. Melissa said that her parents read her important schoolwork that was in Spanish, and that her father sometimes read Spanish books to her and her brother. She also described the periodic visits from a family friend, a man from Spain who gave them Spanish books, read to them in Spanish, and talked with them about Mexico. The day that Mrs. Young required Melissa to open her bank account in Spanish with a Spanish-speaking teller was an epiphany for Melissa:

> "At first she was very mad at me. And walking home from the bank, she made this incredible realization. She goes, 'Mom, I get it!' I go, what do you get? 'Why you want me to know Spanish!' [...] And she goes, 'Well, what if somebody is in the bank and all they knew is English. And there was this person in the bank who

> wanted to do their banking, and all they knew was Spanish. I could help that Spanish person so that the English person could understand what they want, and I could help the English person understand what the Spanish person wanted.' And she made this incredible connection outside of the school, and I was almost in tears, because that's exactly it. And from that point on, she noticed all the places that she could use Spanish outside of the school. Because it's kind of, you know, not realistic in the school setting. [...] And so then we'd be in restaurants, and those people don't think that we're a bilingual family sitting here. And [our kids] have befriended every chef and probably every waiter in every restaurant on the North side. They all know our kids, and they love it when they come, they totally speak in Spanish in every restaurant that we go into. And they seek our kids out. And so that's a wonderful connection for them."

This quote indicates that the family tried to connect to people who worked in their community through the Spanish skills of their children. In Ms. Torres' language arts exercise (Table 34), Melissa wrote that she also used Spanish at her brother's baseball games with the parents of other players. Mrs. Young's comment that "those people don't think that we're a bilingual family sitting here" suggests that she took pride in challenging people's perceptions about their Spanish language abilities based on their physical appearances, which was echoed by Melissa:

> "Like when we're at the train station, my brother sometimes, he's always at the edge, like looking for the train and stuff, and my mom says '*Siéntese aquí!*' [Sit here!], that's like practically all she knows. And so she always says that, especially when there's people that are... that seem like they know Spanish. So she kinda uses her Spanish when they're around and stuff. And so my mom tells Mark, and he says, 'Just wait a second'. And I say Mark, *siéntese*. *Siéntate*, and stuff like that. It's weird. And it's cool because it's like the people who speak Spanish that are in the subway and stuff, they don't know that we know Spanish, and so they start speaking in Spanish and I know everything they say. And it's like they have a little secret language but they don't know we know it. That's what I think of it as."

Perhaps the strongest indication of the role of Spanish in Melissa's life came from her mother's claim that she had "adopted" a Hispanic identity through her uncle from Mexico: "I think she identifies, but I don't think she thinks of herself... she's not, you know, bloodwise, but she really feels that she's adopted into it." Her Uncle Paco lived in a Chicago suburb but returned monthly to his hometown in Michoacán, Mexico, where his family was very wealthy. When the Youngs visited the year before, the governor took them for a four-day tour of the state. Melissa loved that trip so much that for her classroom project on how she would spend a million dollars, she detailed how she would pay for the entire school to visit Mexico.

According to Mrs. Young, Uncle Paco was very proud of Melissa's Spanish, particularly since his two sons did not know the language, which Mrs. Young attributed to his wife's (her sister's) wishes. It is significant that Melissa called Paco's mother "grandma", who according to Mrs. Young was happy to "finally" have grandkids like Melissa and Mark who appreciated Spanish. Mrs. Young commented that this "grandmother" was also encouraging Melissa to have a *quinceañera* party in Mexico, which contributed significantly to Melissa's self-identity:

> "She will now tell you that she is also Spanish, or she's Hispanic, because of her uncle. By marriage. Se has added that to who she is. It's very interesting that she's done that. The whole fact that she's going to go down there and celebrate turning 15, that whole thing... 'Well, of course, mom!' It's like she has taken it on, and this was her legit way to take it on. Or to be a part of it. I think she has always wanted to fit in in that way, at the Inter-American".

While I do not know how common it is for Hispanic girls to celebrate *quinceañera* parties at the Inter-American, it seemed very important to Melissa's identity and connection to Mexico. In the language arts exercise, she wrote that in order to improve her Spanish she could study abroad in Mexico during high school. This is speculative, but being connected to an upper-class family there may have been significant in her desire develop the connection; many people might feel less comfortable in a community that suffered harsh economic circumstances.

Melissa thus received praise from local restaurant workers, bank tellers, and her family from Mexico about how good her Spanish was. Her "grandmother" in Mexico commented that she used such beautiful words that her Spanish was even better than their own, although Mrs. Young admitted that Melissa was teased by kids there for speaking "too proper." Melissa undoubtedly brought these identifications into the classroom. When asked why she liked the Inter-American, the first thing she mentioned was that she was able to learn Spanish there. In the language arts exercise, she wrote that it was important to know Spanish to help other people and when in countries where Spanish is spoken. Ms. Torres noted that Melissa had "enormous respect for the language and the culture" and was aware that her parents were proud that she and her brother could speak Spanish. However, her questionnaire results were not as consistent with the high levels of interest in Spanish that she manifested through her language use as might have been expected. She said it was only "kind of true" that she wants to marry someone who spoke Spanish and "false" that it was important for her children to know Spanish and that it was important to know Spanish to get a good job.

When asked about Melissa's Spanish proficiency, Mrs. Torres gave her a four in listening because she understood most Spanish spoken in the classroom (Appendix G). In reading Ms. Torres also gave her a four but noted that sometimes Melissa had trouble comprehending what she read. When the class was reading the Cuban-American novel *Kike,* Ms. Torres noted:

> "...la mamá me mandó tremenda carta diciendo que la niña no podía, y que Melissa, llorando, y que estaba completamente destrozada porque no entendia nada del libro. [...] la mamá tal vez le, estaba preocupada por su hija, yo entiendo. Y me enfatizó mucho eso, so yo cuando, hablando con Melissa, la hice ver, de que ella era fuerte, porque **ella quiere ser igual de fuerte como es en inglés**. Y no puede, le digo no puedes, porque el español no es fuerte en tu casa. So piensa que tú en inglés vas a estar siempre bien alta pero no pienses que... lo vas a llegar a hacer, pero se toma tiempo. Tal vez viviendo si tú quieres ya después más tiempo en México, o en España, o en cualquier otro país, donde el lenguaje sea constante en tu vida. Que todo lo captes, me entiendes, eso es imposible." [Emphasis added]
>
> *["...her mom sent me a really strong letter saying that her daughter couldn't do it, and Melissa was crying, and that she was totally destroyed because she didn't understand anything from the book. [...] the mom was worried about her daughter, I understand that. And she emphasized that a lot, so when I spoke with Melissa I made her see that she was strong [in Spanish], because* ***she wants to be equally strong as she is in English****. And she can't, I tell her, you can't, because Spanish isn't strong in your home. So think that in English, you'll always be very high but don't think that... you'll do it one day, but it takes time. Maybe if at some point you want to live in Mexico or in*

> *Spain, or any other country, where the language is constant in your life. For you to get everything, you know, that's impossible."]* [Emphasis added]

Ms. Torres felt that Melissa's desire for her Spanish to be as strong as her English was so powerful that it caused her stress. She had very high standards for her Spanish development and appeared willing to make the sacrifices necessary to achieve them. For example, in the language arts exercise (done months before the class began reading *Kike*), Melissa had written that Ms. Torres could help her Spanish reading development by enforcing a rule that she could read only Spanish books in class.

Ms. Torres said that Melissa's Spanish writing was a four plus. When I asked why she thought Melissa's Spanish writing was better than Otto's, Ms. Torres tied it in with her general academic orientation: "Because academically, she has to excel, and that's why she pushes". However, she added that being academically motivated was not enough to do as well in Spanish as Melissa did, indicating that "if she saw Spanish negatively, she wouldn't reach the level she does ". I have suggested that for the students, Spanish use was correlated with on task activity and an identity as a good student. Here, we see that Spanish use was also connected to an overall positive attitude toward the language.

At three plus/four minus, Melissa's speaking was the lowest rating she received by Ms. Torres, who said that she has great ideas but not much Spanish fluency. Sections 4.6 and 4.7 presented examples of Melissa's struggle to verbalize her ideas in Spanish. However, Ms. Torres noted that Melissa participated equally in Spanish and in English because even though she was "fuerte en inglés, es fuerte académicamente" ("strong in English, she's strong academically"). Again, an academic orientation was cited as the reason for Melissa's classroom Spanish use.

Melissa's ratings of her own Spanish were similar to the teacher's for speaking and listening but considerably lower on writing and reading. She gave herself a three in speaking "Because I try, but I'm still only in the middle. I think I'll get higher, when I reach eighth grade I'll probably be high." In listening she said four because ""I think I listen really well in Spanish, in class I can hear how the words are really pronounced and I can hear other people saying the definitions of words. I like listening to Spanish a lot." She only gave herself a two plus in writing, "Because I'm all mixed up with verbs. I don't get the past tense and present and future and all that stuff, so when I put it down on paper it sometimes doesn't make sense." Reading was even lower at a two minus: "I can understand when the whole group reads and Ms. Torres pauses and tells us what the stuff is, but I don't understand very well when I just read by myself". Melissa was the only student to rate herself two whole points below Ms. Torres, which she did in both reading and writing Spanish. This may indicate that she held very high expectations for her Spanish that caused her to be hard on herself. She also gave the lowest ratings of her peers' Spanish of all four students.

We saw several examples in section 4.6 of ways in which Melissa positioned herself as serious student. Her mother corroborated that Melissa was a perfectionist with her schoolwork and felt she was letting the teacher down if she did not do it perfectly. When asked about Melissa's overall classroom achievement, Ms. Torres responded, "Academically, forget it, every teacher wants to have Melissas all over the classroom. Because she's... everything, everything, her responses, her writing". During groupwork, I noticed that Melissa's highest priority was getting the assignment done. Her mother commented that Melissa greatly enjoyed the group project approach, but it caused her stress when the others did not do an equal share of the work.

This intense academic focus was apparent one day in November when the students were somewhat rowdy in Ms. Torres' absence. Matt, José and Lázaro sat together at Melissa's table (according to Ms. Torres, these boys should never be permitted to sit together) and although they did not direct their talk to Melissa, she was unable to concentrate. At the end of the day, she began crying because "They ruined my day" and because she feared getting in trouble for not finishing her classwork. When her mother arrived to pick her up, she scolded the class. On other occasions during unsupervised groupwork, I observed her tablemates glancing around the room, doodling, or chatting off task with each other while Melissa did her work. One afternoon Heather looked repeatedly at Melissa, seeming to invite her to go off-task. Melissa looked up, stopped briefly to examine her fingernail, and returned to her book. Heather then looked to Otto and began chatting with him and Carlos, and the three chatted off task while Melissa continued on task.

Ms. Torres confirmed that Melissa needed structure in the classroom in order to get her work done and that she pressures herself to understand everything: "Ella quiere saberlo todo al momento. Si no capta al momento, si no se siente segura con algo, empieza a llorar. Tiene algo de inseguridad todavía, no controla sus emociones todavía. Pero ya mejoró mucho" (She wants to know everything instantly. If she doesn't get it immediately, if she doesn't feel secure with something, she starts crying. She's still somewhat insecure, she doesn't control her emotions yet. But she's improved a lot"). She also commented on the contradictory pressures Melissa felt between home and school:

> "A veces dice, 'Es que tengo mucha mucha presión, mi mamá me pone mucha presión.' O a veces dirá que yo le pongo mucha presión. Y ella no se va a dormir hasta que no completa toda la tarea. Entonces la mamá le dice, no, a las nueve de la noche tú estás en cama. Y entonces yo les digo, no, tiene que traer su tarea. Entonces ella se siente entre la espada y la pared. Ella quiere ser cumplida, y siempre es muy cumplida. Pero a veces los papás tienen sus prioridades, y nosotros en el salón tenemos nuestras prioridades y eso choca con ella. Y no hay a quien complacer. Entonces es lo difícil para ella."
>
> *[Sometimes she says, 'I have a lot of pressure, my mom pressures me a lot.' Or sometimes she'll say that I put a lot of pressure on her. And she doesn't go to bed until she finishes all of her homework. Then her mom says to her, no, at nine o'clock at night you are to be in bed. And then I tell them, no, she has to do her homework. Then she feels between a rock and a hard place. She wants to do what is expected of her, and she always does. But sometimes the parents have their priorities, and we in the classroom have ours, and that conflicts in her. And then you can't please anyone. So that's what's difficult for her.]*

In an effort to accommodate Melissa, Ms.Torres commented that she gave her more latitude than she would other students:

> Si Lázaro me viniera con ese cuento, pues claro que iba a ser diferente. Pero ella, le digo, tienes el espacio. Porque tiene beisbol o piano o violín, o lo que sea. Porque sí la mamá me dijo que para ellos lo académico era parte de la educación pero no era todo. Ellos creían en lo extra que tienen los niños, como parte de su educación también. No nada más tareas. So ya con eso me dijo todo la señora.
>
> *[If Lázaro came to me with that story, it would of course be different. But her, I tell her, you have the room. Because she has baseball or piano or violin or whatever. Because her mom told me that for them, academics are part of education but not all of it. They believed in the extra things that kids have, as part of their education as well. Not just homework. So with that, she told me everything."]*

Despite this latitude from Ms. Torres, Mrs. Young said that Melissa insisted on being treated like everyone else. At one point, Melissa purposefully did not hand in several homework assignments, "And she didn't get in trouble. Ms. Torres was worried, asked me if something was wrong with Melissa. When I asked her why she didn't do it she said, 'I wanted to know what it was like to get in trouble.' She wants to fit in."

Yet in other ways, Melissa did not act like "everyone else", particularly in her high level of peer Spanish use. Also distinguishing her from the other focal students were her frequent requests that tablemates use Spanish. For Melissa, it seemed a genuine attempt to change her tablemate's language use, not an attempt to get them in trouble. It was not clear to me whether Melissa knew that her classroom language use were so different from those of her classmates'. When I asked her who used a lot of Spanish in the classroom, she answered that she herself tried, but that she "really doesn't pay attention." However, she did seem to have a reputation for being a Spanish user. The morning that Ms. Torres handed out paper on which students were to write their yearly CAL essay, Otto joked that Melissa would need tons of paper. She replied that no, she did not write a lot in Spanish. Ms. Torres then asked Melissa if she wanted to change her seat, perhaps sensing that she was being distracted.

Melissa was just as popular a tablemate as the other three focal students, having been selected by four students (including Matt and Otto). She picked Alison and Daniel (both of whom were very task oriented) and Jesús. However, she seemed to have a reputation as sometimes unfriendly. We saw in section 4.6 that Carlos said she was "always crabby." Several times I observed her respond to a peer's on task question with "You should know." In section 4.6, Jesús expressed resentment that Melissa always got materials first and pleasure when it appeared she had made a mistake. One morning in October, when Otto asked her if he could have some string, she reluctantly agreed but insisted, "Don't take it away! Just cut your piece." When he returned the ball of yarn and said thank you, she did not respond. Later, when Moisés asked for the glue she replied, "Get your own."

However, at other times she seemed to share her markers with Jesús, Amy, and Carolina. There were also occasions on which she engaged in playful dialogue and friendly exchanges with Otto, Carlos, Heather, and Leslie. She often laughed at tablemates' jokes and Mrs. Young said that her classmates often called her for help with the homework.

Like the other three focal students, Melissa liked to portray herself as knowledgeable about classroom content and procedures. She often offered correct answers, information about how to carry out a task, or where the group had left off reading. But more than the other three, she showed concern for details such as the correct type of marker to use on transparencies or whether the clean sheet of paper had to be ripped out of a notebook or not. I have suggested that this intense academic focus and concern for following the rules may have been partially behind Melissa's insistence on using Spanish with her peers in the classroom.

As suggested earlier, Carolina displayed her Spanish skills during teacher fronted lessons and may not have felt the need to insist on using it during groupwork. It may also be that she did not wish to promote too heavily an identity as a good student by using Spanish with peers, nor did she want to risk excluding herself from social talk. Melissa, on the other hand, participated relatively little during teacher fronted lessons and may have seen groupwork as her opportunity to practice Spanish. Additionally, insisting on Spanish during groupwork reduced the chances that her peers would direct social talk to her, allowing her to remain on task.

It may be that Melissa believed that the tape recordings could be used as evidence that she was not following the language rules. However, I noticed that she used Spanish with her peers (who usually responded in English) months before I began taping. For example, in October I noted that as she and Eleanor (L2) worked together on a 3-D map of the United States, Melissa used Spanish (when trying to plug in the glue gun, "Tenemos que mover para allá para que esta cosa... tenemos que *plug it in*") and Eleanor responded in English. Melissa did make several turns in English to clarify the instructions for the task. I also noted that Sharon (L1) warned Melissa, "Be careful with the glue gun" pointing to a burnmark on her arm, to which Melissa replied, "Yo sé qué hacer" and that she used Spanish with Otto and Leslie, both relatively weak L2 Spanish speakers.

Why did Melissa think that she and her classmates used English? According to Mrs. Young, Melissa told her that other kids used English because they were lazy, and that Melissa did so because she got tired of drawing attention to herself for her Spanish. Melissa herself replied, "Sometimes I speak English in Spanish class as you probably heard on the tape, 'cause sometimes it's, I don't know why, I'm just not used to really speaking Spanish in conversations very much." She added that she often felt frustrated learning math and science in Spanish and was glad that science was now taught half in English. She added that when the teacher reprimands the class for using English, "I feel like I should have been speaking Spanish, I feel kinda guilty."

Comparing Melissa and Carolina reveals a possible facet to Melissa's Spanish use. For Carolina, Spanish was a natural part of life. Neither she nor her mother mentioned receiving praise for speaking it, and Carolina even disliked the assumption that her Spanish should be good because she came from a Spanish-speaking family. Melissa had to work harder for her Spanish, and both she and her mother enjoyed the praise it brought. Perhaps she insisted on using it because she felt a need to reaffirm that aspect of her identity.

Mrs. Young said that Melissa wanted to fit in at school. Ironically, using Spanish with peers made her stand out. This combined with her intense academic focus may have caused her to be somewhat marginalized by her peers. Although she did have friendly exchanges with many of them, her schoolwork and using Spanish seemed to be her most important investments.

5.3.4 Otto

Otto's mother, Mrs. Solomon, lived with her three children in a large multifamily apartment complex on the north side of Chicago. She immigrated to the United States from Liberia and spoke English fairly well. Her ex-husband, Mr. Tinor, came from Guinea and spoke both English and French fluently. He lived on the south side of the city and visited his children regularly. Otto once commented that his father was the most important person in his life.

Mrs. Solomon learned of the Inter-American through Chicago's Option for Knowledge program, which produces a brochure about the city's non-traditional public schools. She applied to several of those schools for her oldest daughter Marlene, who began attending the Inter-American nine years earlier and was graduating from eighth grade during the year of this study. Otto, like Carolina, began the first of two preschool years in the Inter-American in 1992. Otto's younger brother Bert was currently in third grade at the school. Mrs. Solomon said that she liked the family environment of the Inter-American, that the teachers were nice to the students, and that it was not as crowded as other schools.

Otto's household was English-speaking. Both Otto and his mother commented that they watched English television programs and listened to religious radio programming in English. Otto said that he used Spanish outside school only when "in a store and someone doesn't speak English". Otto's mother felt that her son's Spanish was "good, for somebody who, it's not spoken at home, like other kids who already know it." Each Tuesday he received after school help with his homework from college student volunteers at a local Baptist Church. When I asked if these tutors also helped with his Spanish homework, his mother replied, "He knows how to do his homework in Spanish, because he can speak Spanish." She added that her daughter Marlene (who had been in SSL at the Inter-American) placed out of beginning Spanish at the private high school she would begin attending in the fall, and she expected that Otto, too, would continue studying Spanish in high school.

Mrs. Solomon said that Otto loved the Inter-American, describing how he woke up early every morning and was the first one in the household ready to leave, waiting downstairs for the bus before it was due to arrive. His mother and father had each considered switching Otto to another school, and on both occasions he said he did not want to leave the Inter-American. He received good report card grades and scored above average on standardized tests. He enjoyed math the most, followed by science and social studies, and he participated in the science and chess clubs after school. Although his mother spoke little compared to the other three I interviewed, she appeared very satisfied with her son's academic development and with his Spanish skills.

As seen in previous sections, similarly to Matt, Otto spoke roughly half English and half Spanish overall. What helps us understand his classroom language use? Despite the overall similarity of the two boys' language use, a closer examination revealed that Otto used more English with the teacher than did Matt, which may have influenced how little he got the floor. Combined with the fact that Ms. Torres disliked Otto's tendency to go off task and talk too much as well as his aggressive interaction style, Otto's English use may have contributed to a circular problem: the teacher called on him less often, which did not give him the opportunity to practice and improve his Spanish. However, his investments in an identity as knowledgeable and socially accepted by his peers, which he could do in English, seemed more important to him than developing his oral Spanish proficiency.

Otto's oral Spanish was rated 3.3 by CAL, the lowest of the four focal students. In my estimation, his spoken Spanish was not at the bottom of the L2 Spanish speakers at the school, perhaps more at the 40% mark. Ms. Torres rated Otto a three out of five in speaking, "Because he's not fluent yet. He tries, but he uses a lot of words in English. At home there's no one to help him with Spanish. He's trying, but he's not as fluent as he should be." His lower oral Spanish proficiency may have prompted him to render his frequent public comments in English. Ms. Torres did emphasize that Otto's Spanish had improved since the beginning of the year, particularly in listening and reading (in which she rated him a three plus/four minus) and in writing (three plus). She said that he began the year "writing very little, half in English and half in Spanish," but began improving once she required him to use a dictionary or to ask about the words he did not know.

As with Carolina and Matt, the teacher commented that Otto did not want to take time with his writing. When I asked why she felt Melissa's Spanish was better than Otto's, given that they both came from English-speaking households, Ms. Torres answered, "Academically, Melissa is excellent. I think that has a lot to do with it." Otto's own ratings of his Spanish were somewhat lower than Ms. Torres'. He rated himself a three minus in speaking, saying that he spoke half Spanish and half English "Because I keep forgetting to speak Spanish, and I'm not getting it that much." "Forgetting" is probably not as accurate as preferring to get his point across accurately and quickly. He gave himself a three in writing ("Because it's easier to write Spanish than to speak it") and listening, and a two plus in reading ("Because some words are hard in Spanish and I don't know what they mean").

His attitudes toward Spanish seemed positive. On his questionnaire, he indicated that Spanish and English were equally difficult but that he liked speaking Spanish less than speaking English. He said that he liked the Inter-American "because you learn a different language and if I go to a place and they only speak Spanish I'll know what they're saying". However, he would have preferred to have math classes in English, "Because I like math and I really want to know it in English so I can understand it even more". On the language arts exercise, he wrote that Spanish was important because "Si yo no save espanol y un personal esto en su familia y tu no save español no puede hablar a el [sic]" ["If I don't know Spanish and a person {that} in your family and you don't know Spanish you can't talk to him"]. He also wrote, "Yo necesitan un toutorian para mejora mi espanol de hablado [sic]" ("I need a tutor to improve my spoken Spanish"].

When asked about his attitude toward Spanish, Ms. Torres sighed: "A él le gusta. El sabe que es algo bueno para él, pero no tiene el apoyo en casa, y yo creo que con sus amigos también predomina mucho el inglés. Carlos [*Spanish L1*], de vez en cuando, sí, yo sé que se juntan con él pero aun así. Va bien, considerando los factores que lo rodean." ["He likes it. He knows that it's good for him, but he doesn't have the support at home, and I think that with his friends, too, English predominates. I know that he gets together with Carlos [*Spanish L1*] sometimes, but even then. He's doing well, considering the factors that surround him"]. Ms. Torres briefly noted that in addition to Otto's improvements in written Spanish, he had also improved in his effort to speak Spanish in class, but he was the first person she mentioned when describing students who "constantly" used English in class and prompted her to request a repetition in Spanish.

Ms. Torres considered Otto academically strong and very enthusiastic, but complained that he answered questions without thinking first, "Y muchas veces la sustancia no está allí. Entonces le dije, Otto, no es how fast you do it, but how good you do it. How well the information, you know, you have to process it" ["And many times the substance isn't there. So I said to him, Otto, it's not how fast..."]. She also said that although he was basically a good kid, he talked too much in class and was often aggressive:

> "Otto es un buen niño, pero es tremendo [risa]. El mismo reconoce, la boca no le para en todo el día. El año pasado dicen que así fue. A veces él dice, OK voy a cambiar. Lo bueno es que él reacciona, sabe cuando hizo algo mal, inmediatamente pide perdón. Pero sigue igual después. [...] A veces en su manera espontánea de ser, falta el respeto y hiere a las personas, a sus compañeros. A veces, es increible, yo creo que lo hace hasta con los maestros, falta el respeto."

> *["Otto is a good kid, but he's something else. {Laughter} He knows it, his mouth doesn't stop all day long. They say he was the same way last year. Sometimes he says, OK, I'm going to change. The good thing is that he reacts, he knows when he did something wrong, he immediately apologizes. But he continues the same way afterwards. [...] Sometimes in his spontaneity, he disrespects people and hurts them, his classmates. Sometimes, it's incredible, I think that he even does it to teachers, disrespects them."]*

Ms. Torres added that she did not think Otto intended to hurt others, but she "sometimes wondered." While "compared with other kids, he's not a discipline problem," many of his classmates had complained about "his rude ways, how badly he addresses them" and that several girls had cried to her about his behavior.

One November morning as I helped his table with a social studies exercise, I experienced first hand what I felt was a somewhat aggressive exchange with Otto. The textbook question read, "Which of the states on the list was first to reach a population of 100,000?" Otto said that the answer was Connecticut, because it was the only state that listed exactly 100,000. However, I pointed out that it had reached 100,000 at a date after which several other states had already reached slightly more than that amount. Without stopping to consider the alternative evidence, he raised his voice and insisted several times, "No, no, it needs to be exactly. That's what Ms. Torres said." I noticed that he often invoked authority figures to back up his claims, like Ms. Torres in this example, even though she had not instructed the students in the way he was suggesting. I also noticed that the substitute teacher in the classroom that day knew Otto's name and admonished him several times to take his seat.

Ms. Torres recognized that Otto was a hard worker and that his parents, particularly his father, supported his academic development, but said that he "wasted a lot of time playing and talking about *tonterias* [dumb things] and distracting the others." She also noted that he was very competitive, citing how he used to upset Moisés by calling him at home with questions about the homework and then accuse Moisés of not knowing what he was doing. Of that situation she said, "I don't know what [Otto] is looking for. I think in certain aspects of his life he does not feel satisfied, above all because his parents aren't together. And he sees Moisés with a solid nuclear family and he establishes a rivalry with him." She remarked that Otto could overwhelm even a strong student like Moisés, and recalled that Melissa once had tears in her eyes when she and Otto were assigned to work together on the "pioneers moving west" project.

Despite Otto's competitive, sometimes aggressive behavior, José, Moisés, and Sharon did choose to work with him. He chose Moisés, Melissa, and erased Carolina's name to replace it with Allison. He once told me that Carlos and Carolina were his best friends (although he did not pick them to sit with, nor did they pick him), and that his best friend from last year had transferred out of the Inter-American because "He didn't like Spanish." Otto often made public displays of appreciation toward his friends. When it was announced that Daniel had been chosen the winner of the school-wide T-shirt design contest, Otto immediately called out to a friend who had not been chosen, "Jesús, good job, though."

Otto had a strong presence in school. When it came to volunteering for classroom tasks like the *pizarrón*, *almuerzo*, or *mensajero*, he was one of a handful of students who dominated the floor. This stood in contrast to the participation he was granted during academic lessons, perhaps because the teacher tolerated more English during these discussions. He would argue, for example, that so-and-so had already been the *mensajero* and that he had not, or that he had done a good job of the *pizarrón*. He particularly enjoyed doing *almuerzo*, which required circulating among classmates to collect lunch money and distributing cafeteria tickets. When he was not in charge of *almuerzo*, I often heard him call out to remind the student in charge to report the classroom totals to the cafeteria on time.

In addition to frequently volunteering to plug in the overhead projector, carry books, or distribute rulers and calculators, Otto liked to display his knowledge of classroom practices. If the teacher stated, "Voy a estar llamando a personas que me ayuden a leer" ("I am going to be calling on people to help me read"), Otto would call out the name of that group reading practice: "Pop reading?" If she announced, "Van a leer en silencio y me van a encontrar tres diferentes tipos de monticulos" ("You are going to read in silence and find three different kinds of mounds"), he responded, "Para silent reading?"

Otto was also popular on the playground, where I observed students vying for his participation on their football and soccer teams: "We got Otto," shouted Jesús. "Oh, shit!" responded another boy. "Yeah, we got Otto." I saw him several times on the playground arguing vehemently over whether a ball had gone out of bounds; I suspected he would argue just as strongly regardless of whether he believed it had actually been out. One had to be fairly confident in order to engage in an argument with Otto, for one sensed that he would not back down even if proven wrong. His athletic prowess as well as his argumentativeness made him a likely candidate for his future professions of choice, which included college and professional football and being a lawyer.

Like the boys in Willett's (1995) study, Otto often announced to tablemates and to Ms. Torres when he was on the last question or had finished a task. This combined with his frequent calling out of on-task responses to the teacher's questions indicated that he wanted to be seen as a good student. When Ms. Torres noted that some group members were not completing their assignments, Otto immediately shouted out, "¡Yo estoy haciendo la tarea!" ("I am doing the homework!"). We saw in section 4.6 how he strongly defended his dedication to schoolwork, arguing that he had done his homework but left it at home. Even though Matt claimed that Otto did his homework on the bus, in that situation he wanted to be perceived as having put time into it the night before and even having helped a classmate complete the assignment.

During academic lessons, Otto sought to appear competent. In section 4.6 we saw that he shouted out answers during teacher fronted lessons very frequently. During groupwork, he often looked at his tablemates' written answers and compared them with his own (sometimes directly copying them) and asked questions if he did not understand. When he thought he was right and a classmate was wrong, he often said so. When his competence was called into question, Otto often tried to implicate his tablemates. During a social studies lesson in May, after the class had been discussing *monticulos* (burial mounds) for two days, Otto asked his tablemates, "What are *monticulos*?" Carlos, in disbelief, began his answer with "Jesus Christ!" Otto smiled. When Carlos had finished, Otto said to Melissa, "That's what I asked you and you said no." There is no such question to Melissa on the tape recording, and while he may have indeed asked her at another time, I suspect this was an attempt to save face.

Otto wanted his voice to be heard, whether discussing part of a lesson, Chicago's highways or public art, television shows, or popular wrestlers. Most of these loud, confident turns were in English. Otto was one of five students mentioned by Ms. Torres from whom she takes away the most *canicas* for speaking English, specifying that when she did so, "You can see their faces, the anger. Especially Otto." He did say that he felt "sad" when Ms. Torres took away a *canica*. Ms. Torres added that Otto participated more during English classes than in Spanish classes and that his participation during Spanish classes was "average."

The other focal students rated Otto's classroom Spanish use between medium and low. Carolina said, "He understands it but he has problems translating it" and that she usually saw him choose English books instead of Spanish ones because "Maybe he thinks that he might not understand it." Melissa said "It seems like he's goofy and he's not determined to learn Spanish " and Matt said, "He talks too much in English and he doesn't know a lot of words in Spanish."

Wondering how students perceived the differences in Spanish use and proficiency between two English L1 students like Otto and Melissa, I asked them why there might be such differences. Carolina replied that students who used little Spanish "Maybe don't think they're going to use it that much." For her, a practical interest in Spanish determined how much one would make an effort to speak it. Matt said, "Otto usually likes going outside and playing and does his homework on the bus. Melissa does her homework here and she reads a lot of books in Spanish[93]." For him, it seemed that Spanish was indicative of an academic orientation, which had also been Ms. Torres' interpretation. Melissa said, "Probably they just aren't getting it into their head or something, I don't know," indicating that language relied primarily on cognitive ability. Otto said that he was better at Spanish than Leslie "Because I try hard and I've been in the school since preschool," indicating that effort over time produced good Spanish language results, but when asked why other L1 students did better than he in Spanish, he replied, "Beats me."

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[93] Due to the way his interview progressed, Matt was the only student presented with comparing Otto and Melissa specifically.

Although Otto struggled to verbalize complete sentences in Spanish and had many errors that seemed fossilized in his speech throughout the year (most commonly the overuse of the second person singular verb endings in the present tense: *yo sabes, yo estás, nosotros necesitas* but also *yo va a comer*), we saw in section 4.6 that he did try to appear competent in Spanish through strategies such as repetition. He also offered help to other students when they had lost their place during a read-aloud or when they mispronounced a word, and he finished the teacher's sentences about what page of the book to go to. If he knew the answer to a vocabulary question, he would call it out, and he provided English translations of Spanish words that he understood. But even if he did not know the Spanish word, he often wanted to show that he knew the answer so he used English.

Although his English use was quite high, Otto did make efforts to follow the language use rules. I recorded him speaking in English and immediately repeating himself in Spanish when I adjusted the tape recorder or when the teacher approached his group or called attention to his English use. He appeared to seek recognition for what little Spanish he did produce, which may also have served to keep him from being reprimanded. For example, when the teacher called attention to the class' English use one morning in April, he quickly stated, "Yo estaba hablando español con José" ("I was speaking Spanish with Jose"). On another occasion, he produced a short Spanish narrative into the tape recorder, including the date, the class, and the subject they were studying. He finished with a whisper: "I said that, people, not Carlos." One morning in November, Ms. Torres read a story in English, and when she was finished, Otto announced, "Colorín, colorado, este cuento se ha acabado."

Despite his enthusiasm to participate, we saw in section 4.7 that Otto was the only focal student who was selected less often than he bid. Not only his verbal bids but also his hand raising were often passed over by the teacher. He was also frequently shushed by tablemates. It may be that Otto's low Spanish proficiency combined with these frequent reprimands led him to sometimes display a lack of confidence in his answers. For example, when Ms. Torres solicited the names of "famous Indian chiefs," Otto replied, "Tainos". Ms. Torres replied with "Huh?', to which Otto merely looked down and shrugged his shoulders.

Not only in denying him the floor but in other ways, the teacher communicated that Otto was a "problem student." One day the students were chatting and she began talking in an attempt to get their attention in order to begin a teacher fronted lesson. She reprimanded Otto for talking while she was, but she waited for Teo to realize that she was talking. On other occasions, I observed her use Otto's name to call the students to attention, as if using him as a scapegoat. Although she expressed some positive feelings about Otto, she may have been marginalizing him because of his propensity to go off task, which if permitted would derail her lesson plan.

In summary, it seems that Otto's halting spoken Spanish did not hurt his progress through the school, academically or socially. His mother seemed very satisfied with his Spanish and his academic development, and he had a certain level of social status in the classroom. He did not appear to have any investments that required him to develop his Spanish outside of avoiding the teacher's reprimands. Like Matt, Otto's agenda seemed to include being right, being funny, and being able to subordinate his peers, none of which required Spanish. However, unlike Matt, the teacher and other students could subordinate Otto during Spanish lessons because of his low proficiency.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the patterns of Spanish and English use by fifth-grade students during Spanish lessons in a dual immersion classroom. Unlike previous dual immersion research, this study used systematic observations and both audio and video recordings of naturally occurring classroom speech. The students' 2,203 turns, recoded over 12 hours and 35 minutes of Spanish language classes collected over five months, were examined according to nine variables (language, class, participant structure, interlocutor, topic, selectedness, mean length of turn, gender, and students' L1) and percentages of Spanish and English use were calculated for each variable. The study also employed qualitative research methods, including interviews and participant observations, which sought to relate students' identity investments to their language use. The data collection and analysis therefore had two layers: (1) percentages of Spanish and English use under different classroom variables, and (2) a narrative description of students' identity investments and how these seemed to influence their classroom language use.

This collective case study (cf., Stake 1998) focused on the verbal behavior of four students: two Spanish L1 students and two Spanish L2 students, one boy and one girl in each pair. All four students exhibited above average academic proficiency and classroom participation, and while the Spanish proficiency of the L1 students was higher than that of the L2 students[94], the L2 students' comprehension of Spanish allowed them to participate actively in Spanish language lessons and classroom activities, even if their spoken Spanish sometimes halted this participation.

In Chapter 4, it was established that Spanish was used 56% and English was used 44% overall by the four students. This lends support to anecdotal evidence (Christian et al.1997) that students use

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[94] Based on the Center for Applied Linguistics' rating of three of the four students and on teacher and researcher evaluations; the school did not administer any Spanish language proficiency tests.

Spanish more than English in dual immersion classrooms. Interestingly, students' L1 did not appear to be related to the amount of Spanish they used in the classroom. The language use percentages suggested that the four variables most highly related to Spanish use in this study were gender, having the teacher as an interlocutor, being selected to speak, and topic. The qualitative investigation of students' identity investments also provided explanations for their classroom language use.

The following sections summarize how these four variables as well as the role of investment appeared to be related to the students' classroom language choices.

Gender

The girls used Spanish in 66% of their turns while the boys used Spanish in 47% of their turns. There was no apparent relationship between students' L1 and their classroom language use; it was not the case that Spanish L1 students used more Spanish than Spanish L2 students. Although Carolina (Spanish L1) did use more Spanish than Otto (Spanish L2) and more than Matt (Spanish L1), Melissa, who had Spanish as an L2, used more Spanish than Matt (L1) and Otto (L2). Gender, therefore, seemed more highly linked than L1 to students' language use, since the two girls used Spanish more than the two boys regardless of L1.

These findings suggest a need to examine gender when studying classroom language use, which had not previously been attempted in immersion studies. It does echo research (Willett 1995; Toohey 2000) suggesting that girls are often more inclined to follow classroom rules, which in this case may have included the rule to use Spanish during Spanish lessons. Viewed another way, using Spanish during Spanish lessons may have been advantageous to these two girls' identities as good students. The qualitative data corroborated (particularly for Melissa) that such an investment in academic standing was indeed exerting a strong influence on her behavior. The qualitative data further suggested that the two girls had other identity investments that made them more interested in using and developing Spanish than the boys[95]. Melissa, although not from a Spanish-speaking family, had "adopted" an identity as a Spanish speaker through her family's pride in her ability to speak it, which was often put on display in her community and while visiting her uncle in Mexico. She also came from an academic family and was intensely concerned with academic achievement, which meant that she stayed on task and took care to use Spanish when it was the official language of the lesson. Carolina spoke Spanish daily with her family and was one of the most fluent Spanish-speakers in the class. She appeared very comfortable with her bilingual, bicultural identity, and stated that it was important that students used more Spanish at the Inter-American than at other bilingual schools in order that she would not forget her Spanish.

The boys earned good grades but generally showed more resistance to school. They engineered ways to leave the classroom when they could and sometimes argued with the teacher, two behaviors not exhibited by the girls in my observations. Matt engaged in a good deal of anti-school commentary with his peers (about hating school, doing homework on the bus, etc.), which would logically take place in English instead of Spanish, given that Spanish was used mostly (88% of the time) for official, academic activity. However, Matt did use enough Spanish, especially with the teacher, to avoid getting into any serious trouble. Otto's lower Spanish proficiency combined with his zeal to participate (and his sometimes aggressive, off task behavior) was probably partially responsible for his higher levels of English use. Both boys had reputations as intelligent, capable students, which did not appear to be jeopardized by their English use during Spanish lessons.

Unlike the girls, the boys seemed to have few identity investments outside of school that required developing or demonstrating high Spanish proficiency. Matt used Spanish at home with his grandparents who lived downstairs, but since his stepfather did not know English, his nuclear family tended to use

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[95] Although these other investments do not appear to be strictly gender based, it is interesting that the two girls had investments both inside and outside of the classroom that encouraged their Spanish use while the boys did not.

English, despite Matt's mother's attempts to use Spanish with him. Otto's family did not know Spanish and he seemed to receive no support for his Spanish development outside of school.

Despite the clear gender pattern in our data, there were six girls in the classroom that resisted using Spanish (two Spanish L1 and four Spanish L2), and three boys (one L1 and two L2) who seemed to enjoy using Spanish and rarely used English publicly during Spanish lessons. Gender as a variable needs to be considered in future studies to clarify its role in immersion classroom language use. Also, these findings indicate that gender-based explanations of language use must be corroborated by looking closely at each student's language production, which is permitted by a case study methodology. Based on these preliminary findings for gender language use differences, however, teachers may want to take care to equally distribute girls and boys in the classroom.

Interlocutor

Interlocutor was another variable related to language choice. When the teacher was an interlocutor, students used Spanish 82% of the time. This result confirms findings by Heitzman (1993), Parker et al. (1995) and Broner (2000) that children prefer to use Spanish when they address the teacher during Spanish lessons. Although Broner (2000) found a higher percentage of Spanish (98%) when the teacher was an interlocutor than in our study, only 15% of the students' speech was directed to the teacher and other adults in her study. It may have been easier for students to stay in their L2 for such a small percentage of turns. In our study almost half of the corpus (47%) was directed to the teacher, which means it was more likely for students to slip into English, their dominant language[96], even though Spanish was the expected, official language of the lesson.

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[96] Approximately 45% of Latino students enter the Inter-American already "proficient" in English (Christian et al. 1997:85; no quantification of this term is given); by fifth grade, most of them seemed English dominant (although there is no empirical evidence to support this).

When speaking to other peers, students in our study used Spanish 32% of the time. Additionally, their peer Spanish turns were on average 2.8 words shorter than their teacher Spanish turns. This runs counter to other research (Willett 1995; Liu 1994) that students' L2 use with the teacher was shorter and less complex than their L2 use with their peers. I have suggested that the difference lies in the fact that Willet (1995) and Liu (1994) examined ESL contexts in which students were acquiring the majority language that held status in the classroom and the community. When talking with their native English-speaking peers, ESL students may indeed have felt a need to produce longer, socially significant utterances in order to place themselves in the community. In the dual immersion context of our study, Spanish was the subordinate language and many students avoided speaking it when they could, both with the teacher and especially with their peers.

While students' amounts of Spanish and English language use with the teacher were fairly uniform among them, their peer language use showed more variation from one student to another. Carolina, Melissa and Matt used Spanish between 83% and 91% when talking with the teacher (which mostly involved saying things publicly during teacher fronted lessons) while Otto used Spanish just 71%. Otto may have been unwilling or unable to use Spanish as often as the other three students because his Spanish proficiency was lower than theirs and/or because he was more invested in giving the right answer quickly than in struggling to form his ideas in Spanish. While Melissa sometimes lost the floor as she struggled to express herself in Spanish, Otto preferred to shout out his answers in English. However, Otto used Spanish with peers 23% of the time, slightly more than Matt's 18%.

Melissa's (Spanish L2) 50% peer Spanish use was the highest of all four children, even more than Carolina's (Spanish L1) 42%. This finding fits with the qualitative evidence that Melissa was highly invested in her identity as a Spanish-speaker. It also contradicts the assumption that Spanish L1 students provide greater opportunities to speak Spanish in dual immersion classrooms. Melissa appeared to promote the most Spanish by speaking Spanish frequently (even answering in Spanish her peers who addressed her in

English) and by requesting that her tablemates use Spanish. Matt, a Spanish L1 student, actually used the least peer Spanish of all four students. These results are noteworthy because they provide further evidence for the need to look at individual data in addition to group results.

These findings are similar to findings in regular immersion contexts (Swain & Carroll 1987; Parker et al. 1995; Broner 2000) that students use less Spanish when speaking with each other than when speaking to the teacher, although our 32% was less than the 58% peer Spanish reported in Broner (2000). It does not support the findings of Heitzman (1993) and Parker et al. that children only ""very occasionally" spoke Spanish with peers (Parker et al. 1994:13). Tarone & Swain (1995:174) noted two possible conclusions to their observations that immersion students preferred using the L1 to communicate with each other. The first was that diglossia may be inevitable in immersion classrooms, because it is difficult or impossible for students to learn or use an L2 vernacular variety with each other. This position suggests that teachers should give up trying to enforce non-academic peer-peer L2 use and instead focus energy on the development of academic L2 abilities. The second position was that teachers should integrate into the school structure some degree of contact with native speaking peers outside of the classroom, such as trips to museums with Quebequois francophone children or short periods of study abroad, so that students can be exposed to L2 vernacular varieties.

However, in our classroom, native speaking peers were seated right next to L2 learners every day, yet English remained the preferred language. Certainly the fact that both of the L1 Spanish speakers knew English and were perhaps English dominant affected their language use; they might not have learned Spanish slang growing up in Chicago. However, not only slang and vernacular varieties were missing from the four students' classroom Spanish use; they did not tease, joke, or talk about cultural referents in Spanish (cf., Broner 2000). While it is likely that students learn and maintain more Spanish in dual immersion classrooms than in other program types, diglossia may be inevitable, given the weight of English in United States society and in the students' lives – in my observations, their favorite television programs, movies, music, collector cards, and games were all in English.

This preference for English supports the observations of McCollum (1994) and Freeman (1998) in other dual immersion schools. It suggests that there was "leakage" (Freeman 1998) into the classroom of the dominant language patterns in the wider community. That is, despite the school's goals of using Spanish and English equally within the building, practices of English dominance outside of the building found their way into the school. This was apparent not only in the focal students' language use in this classroom, but also through teachers' occasional use of English lessons during time slots scheduled for Spanish lessons, the importance given to English-language standardized tests, that English dominated at parent meetings despite the presence of less proficient English speakers, and the higher quality of ESL instruction compared to SSL. We agree with Freeman that:

> English is naturally the language of choice for... students because languages...other than standard English tend to be stigmatized in mainstream U.S. society and because English is what the students hear on television and in the popular music that they listen to. Although the school goes to great lengths to create an environment in which English and Spanish are valued equally, the same conditions simply do not exist outside the school's discourse. (1996:578).

This school's stated goals are high levels of bilingualism for all students. These students had very high Spanish comprehension levels, but there was a disparity between their receptive competence and their production abilities. English seemed to be the dominant language of the Spanish L1 students, and while most English L1 students in the school did understand and express their ideas well in Spanish, their fluency and accuracy was lower than that of their Spanish L1 counterparts in English (although there are no empirical data to support this because the school did not administer any Spanish oral proficiency exams). In my observation, the low level of oral Spanish proficiency of some students would have caused alarm and critical ESL intervention if it had been their English. For both Spanish L1 and Spanish L2 students, there was a disparity between their high comprehension abilities and their lower production abilities.

Since all students changed tables once a month and because their turns were often directed to their table members in general, it proved too difficult to systematically note the L1 of the student(s) to whom the focal students were talking. On several occasions, we did notice that more Spanish was used at a table where three highly proficient Spanish L1 students were seated together. However, we have also seen that despite Matt's native-like Spanish abilities, he resisted using it in class. Examining both the language proficiency and the investments of students' interlocutors for a possible correlation to language use might prove relevant: future studies could investigate whether students use English when they sense that their interlocutor's Spanish proficiency is low, or that students who are less confident in their Spanish proficiency use English with interlocutors whom they perceive know more Spanish than they do.

Overall, interlocutor was more highly related to Spanish use than was participant structure. The two participant structures examined were teacher fronted lessons and groupwork. Students used Spanish 67% during teacher fronted lessons (compared with 82% when actually talking to the teacher) and 42% during groupwork (compared with 32% when talking with peers). The explanation for these differences was that not all turns during teacher fronted lessons were actually directed to the teacher, and not all turns made during groupwork were directed to peers. Therefore, researchers cannot rely on participant structure alone as a classroom variable. It is useful as a general indicator of language use during different class types, but interlocutor should be included as well.

Selectedness

Selectedness has not been studied in immersion or dual immersion contexts but appeared highly relevant to students' language use in this study. It was included as a variable during data analysis in order to account for differences in language use that seemed related to the circumstances under which students took their turns during teacher-fronted lessons. Selectedness referred to whether students had been selected to speak publicly by the teacher. Students spoke publicly during teacher fronted lessons in three different ways: (1) 87% of the time they shouted out an answer without being selected; (2) 10% of the time they volunteered by making a bid for the floor (either verbally or by raising their hand) and were selected to speak by the teacher; and (3) 3% of the time, the teacher selected them to speak although they had not bid to give an answer, most likely because she suspected their attention had been wandering[97] - that is, their turn was involuntary.

When selected to speak after volunteering, students chose Spanish more often (96%) than when they shouted out (81%) or when their turn was involuntarily (74%). It was suggested that students might have felt pressured to use Spanish after putting the effort into bidding and having been granted the floor. It may also be that the moments during which the teacher decided whom to select provided students with a moment to mentally compose their answers in Spanish. When shouting out freely, they might have felt less need to conform to the language rules, and/or they had less time to plan their answers. Despite the fact that most of the involuntary turns sounded like reprimands after which students might have felt compelled to use the official language and avoid further trouble, students used Spanish just 74%. It was shown that only the boys were selected in this way, and their English responses might have represented resistance to the reprimand and to the teacher's authority.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, students' bids could be verbal, such as shouting out "Oh, Ms. Torres!" or "Yo sé!", or they could consist of nonverbal hand raising. Carolina and Matt, both Spanish L1, made more verbal bids (28 and 24 verbal bids, respectively) than L2 students Melissa and Otto (4 and 18 verbal bids, respectively). It was not the case that Carolina and Matt were overall more participatory than the Spanish L2 students, since Otto produced fully 32% of the entire corpus of turns to the teacher, more than the other three students. That is, Otto participated a great deal when shouting out was permitted, but much less when bidding was required. The Spanish L1 students may have bid more because of their higher Spanish proficiency: they may have felt more confident in their ability to give a well-formed answer. However, Melissa was orally more fluent than Otto yet made only a quarter as many verbal bids as he did. Alternatively, the Spanish L1 students may have bid more often because they were more often successful at it, which will be considered shortly in an examination of students' bidding strategies.

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[97] This could not be confirmed with the teacher, since the variable became salient after data collection had ended.

The examination of selectedness revealed that students were not given equal opportunities to speak publicly during teacher fronted lessons. Students could bid either verbally by shouting out, or silently by raising their hands[98]. Students' verbal bidding patterns revealed that Carolina had 46% of her verbal bids selected, Matt had 61% and Melissa had 75%[99]; Otto had only 22% of his verbal bids selected. When combining these with nonverbal bids, Carolina accounted for 35% of the entire corpus of selected turns, Matt 29%, Melissa 24% and Otto just 13%. Otto was the only student selected less often than he had bid; his 18 verbal bids (which constituted 25% of the corpus of verbal bids) combined with his handraising resulted in just 11 selected turns (13% of the corpus of selected turns). Seen another way, Melissa made less than a quarter as many verbal bids as Otto but was selected twice as often. The qualitative data revealed that although Ms. Torres did not consider Otto a serious discipline problem, she thought he talked too much about off task topics, used too much English, and was somewhat aggressive. There were also several examples in the corpus when Otto did not follow the participation rules set forth by the teacher and his inappropriate participation was reprimanded.

Although selected turns accounted for just 8% of all the Spanish turns in the corpus, students used Spanish 96% of the time when they were selected. Additionally, 70% of the entire Spanish corpus was produced when the interlocutor was the teacher, and 66% of the Spanish corpus took place during teacher fronted lessons. These patterns suggest that being selected to speak, speaking to the teacher, and speaking during teacher fronted lessons provided students the greatest possibility to speak Spanish in this classroom. Students who took or were given fewer opportunities to speak under these conditions may have had their potential for Spanish language development curtailed. Carranza (1995) argued that access to the floor is an important resource in a dual immersion classroom because it affects not only on the learning of content but also constitutes opportunities to use, practice, and learn Spanish. For someone like Otto who had relatively low Spanish oral proficiency, a circular pattern may have existed: his lower Spanish proficiency led to greater use of English, which annoyed the teacher[100] so she selected him less often, which limited his opportunities to improve his Spanish. Teachers are usually aware of the need to distribute turns evenly among students but may not realize that inequities exist, particularly if this involves admitting that they dislike a particular student. In a dual immersion setting, these inequities have important consequences for students' language development.

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[98] Despite the use of video recordings, it was not possible to determine accurately how many times students had bid nonverbally by handraising, because some of the corpus was recorded by audio only. For example, even if only Matt was being video recorded, Melissa's turns picked up by the audio recordings were included in the corpus, but no video was available to determine whether she had raised her hand at all during the lesson.

[99] Melissa made only four verbal bids in the corpus, of which three were selected. Her other 17 selected turns were the result of nonverbal bids.

The finding that Spanish L1 students produced the largest number of selected bids in the corpus led to an exploration of students' bidding strategies. Spanish L1 students employed several strategies that may have resulted in their getting the floor more often. When shouting out one-word bids like "Oooh!," Carolina and Matt were sometimes simply louder than their classmates. On several occasions, Matt was successful at keeping the floor when the teacher tried to move on to another question by raising his voice and repeating himself (Ms. Torres': "OK, y cuál..." was cut off by Matt's "Y ESTABA, Y ESTABA, y estaba harto de, estaban los ninos hartos de comer lo mismo"). More interesting was when Carolina and Matt bid by starting to say their Spanish answer, which appeared to get Ms. Torres' attention. For example, when there was a chorus of "Ooooh!" but Carolina shouted, "Oh, como, es como..." or Matt said, "Que, los que...", they tended to win the floor. This use of Spanish words to bid was done by Melissa only once in the corpus, and not at all by Otto; Melissa and Otto tended to use bids of the type "Oh, yo sé!" A detailed discourse analysis focusing on bidding strategies in dual immersion classrooms may be a worthwhile area for future research.

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[100] Ms. Torres stated that Otto talked too much (although he made approximately the same number of turns as Carolina), used too much English (yet it was exactly the same amount as Matt in this corpus) and went off task too often (but he was off task slightly less often than Matt). Otto did, however, use the most teacher English (29%, compared to the other students' 14%) and the least Spanish during social studies (47%, compared to the other students' 71%), which may have contributed to the teacher's evaluations of him.

That the Spanish L1 students were more successful than their Spanish L2 counterparts at gaining the public floor, which is when the majority of Spanish production took place in this classroom, suggests that they also enjoyed greater opportunities to produce Spanish. If language production is a central component to language development, as held by Swain's (1985) output hypothesis and by Hatch's (1978) argument that syntactic and pragmatic knowledge develop out of conversation, these Spanish L1 students were possibly reaping more linguistic benefits than their Spanish L2 counterparts. This somewhat contradicts the findings of Delgado-Larocco (1998) that instructional practices in a dual immersion classroom privileged the Spanish L2 students' acquisition of Spanish and runs counter to the warnings of Valdés (1997) that dual immersion classrooms are structured to benefit Spanish L2 students over Spanish L1 students. Valdés (1997) suggested that teacher talk may be slowed down and simplified to accommodate the less-developed linguistic systems of the Spanish L2 students. That Spanish L2 students were less successful at verbally gaining the floor suggests that this teacher expected and rewarded native-like participation during teacher fronted lessons. Furthermore, although this study did not analyze Ms. Torres' Spanish production, our 120 hours of observations over nine months led us to conclude that she did not modify her Spanish. However, further research on selectedness and teacher talk in dual immersion is necessary.

Being selected and speaking to the teacher required having the teacher as an interlocutor. These results suggest that if teachers wish to maximize students' Spanish use, they should speak with students frequently. Since peer discourse has been found to result in richer linguistic expression (Liu 1994), a wider variety of functions and referents (Liu 1994; Broner 2000) and richer opportunities for cognitive development (Cazden 1988) when compared to teacher fronted lessons, reverting to a transmission model of teacher fronted classes in which the "Initiation-Response-Evaluation" sequence dominates does not seem a viable option. However, if students do not use the target language with each other during unmonitored groupwork, we need to consider alternative activity types in which the teacher is an interlocutor yet students are given the opportunity to experiment with language and not feel rushed or intimidated by their classmates' competing bids to produce an answer. One option may be to have the teacher circulate to talk with small groups of students as they do groupwork.

Topic

The final noteworthy variable in this study was topic. Three topics were defined in the corpus: (1) on task, when the talk was directly related to the academic content; (2) management, talk that regulated the performance of an academic task such as asking for supplies; and (3) off task, which was unrelated to the academic task. An examination of topic revealed that being on task resulted in more Spanish use (68%) than did managing tasks (43%) or being off task (17%). This coincided with the findings of Broner (2000) and Parker et al. (1995) that students used more Spanish when on task to discuss official academic topics than when off task. The separation of *management* from *on task* proved fruitful, since students used more English to manage tasks than they did to talk about the academic topic itself. The reason that management turns were almost equally divided between Spanish and English may be because managing activities appeared to involve a combination of carrying out an official on task activity as well as the more social functions of requesting materials and arguing about the correct way to proceed with a task.

It is notable that students used Spanish only 17% of the time when talking about off task, non-academic subjects. These findings suggest that Spanish was used primarily for official school-related talk while English was preferred for socializing, lending support to Tarone & Swain's (1995) hypothesis and Broner's (2000) findings that diglossia is present in immersion classrooms[101]. That is, English was used as an informal vernacular while Spanish was almost always reserved for official academic topics (88% of the Spanish corpus). Looking at this another way, when topic was examined together with interlocutor, it was found that students' peer English was more often off task (35%) than was their peer Spanish (9%). That is, they rarely used Spanish to socialize with each other. Unlike the regular immersion classrooms discussed by Tarone & Swain (1995) and by Broner (2000), in this dual immersion setting, Spanish was actually the L1 of half of the students.

However, as we have mentioned, English appeared to be the dominant language for most Spanish L1 students in this classroom. It remains to be seen whether Spanish dominant students in dual immersion classrooms carry out off task talk in Spanish and under what circumstances. There are not many students at this school who have recently immigrated from Latin America, despite the administration's attempts to recruit them. It may be that the majority of immigrant families move to the south side neighborhoods of Pilsen and La Villita and prefer to enroll their children in a neighborhood school close by.

Examining each student's language use by topic revealed two gender differences: the boys were slightly more often off task (17%) than were the girls (12%), and the girls used much more Spanish to manage tasks (78%) than did the boys (22%). Also, while Carolina, Matt and Otto used Spanish just 15% when off task, Melissa used Spanish 31%. In this way, Melissa was similar to Broner's student "Marvin" who used a good deal more Spanish than his two counterparts. It was suggested that Melissa's strong identity investments as a good student and as a proficient second language Spanish speaker in her family motivated her to use Spanish, even when unmonitored by the teacher and when off task. Although Melissa used twice as much off task Spanish than the others, it is worth noting that being off task promoted less use of Spanish even for a language rule follower like Melissa, who used 67% Spanish when on task and 74% when managing academic tasks (it is not clear why Melissa used more Spanish when managing tasks than when on task, when the tendency was to use more Spanish when on task).

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[101] Although Spanish was used primarily for on task academic comments (88% of the Spanish corpus), this classroom did not appear to be entirely diglossic because Spanish was not the only on task language in the classroom. Since Ms. Torres also taught English lessons, students were accustomed to speaking English with her for academic topics. Indeed, of the on task turns directed to the teacher during these Spanish lessons, 17% were in English. Additionally, 40% of peer English turns were on task, and another 25% were for management.

Additionally, students' off task peer English and off task peer Spanish carried out different functions. While I did not employ a rigorous discourse analysis for this study, it was found that students used English with each other when off task for fifteen different functions and categories of referents: movies, TV shows, popular culture, music groups and radio stations, addresses and phone numbers, their activities outside of school, their other classes, computers, fighting and arguing with each other, manifesting anti-school sentiments, sports, teasing and sarcasm, playing, slang, and "other" such as informing a peer that a tag was sticking out of his shirt. Their off task peer Spanish was limited to a few random references to holidays and music class and during a social studies class in which Matt and his tablemates had been repeatedly chastised for using English. There were no references to popular culture, TV or movies, nor any fighting, teasing, or slang in Spanish. These findings are similar to those of Broner (2000) in a regular immersion classroom, also based on a general examination of topics as opposed to an in-depth discourse analysis.

In discussing the findings of Liu (1991, 1994), Tarone and Swain (1995) noted that "Unlike children in an immersion program, Bob [the ESL boy] had the opportunity to learn peer-peer vernacular in his L2 because he was surrounded by native speakers" and posited that "if immersion students could say in their L2 the sorts of things Bob and his friends say in this conversation [criticisms, commands, arguments, and insults], we believe they would" (1995:171-2). In our study, Spanish L2 students were in fact surrounded by Spanish L1 students, yet neither Spanish L1 nor Spanish L2 students used Spanish for many functions. It is unclear whether Carolina and Matt (Spanish L1 speakers) knew how to say in Spanish the slang and other functions they carried out in English. Even had they known the Spanish equivalents, we can only speculate whether they would have actually used Spanish for their off task and management comments.

Tarone & Swain (1995) emphasized that the primary function of peer interactions is for students to locate themselves in a social hierarchy. Similarly, Norton (2000) proposed that the overriding purpose of interactions is for people to present an image of who they are. Carrying out social, off task, or management functions in Spanish may have marked students as nonmembers (what Labov 1972 called "lame") in this classroom. For example, we have suggested that Melissa suffered a certain degree of ostracism for her intense, individualistic work habits and her enthusiasm for music classes, which may have been exacerbated by her peer Spanish use. She spoke to her peers 50% of the time in Spanish (much more than the boys, who averaged (21%), and half of those Spanish turns were for managing tasks. The times she incorporated English may have been in an attempt to fit in with her peers, who tended to use English when unmonitored by the teacher.

Tarone & Swain further argued that "The need to perform the social functions is far greater to the children's social identity than the need to stay in the L2 (and look like a dweeb) when they have and share the L1 style they need" (1995:169). This seemed to be the case for Matt and Otto, who used very little Spanish with peers, but the girls' language use are not entirely explained by this argument. In the case of Melissa, it seemed that the identity she sought to promote was precisely one of a Spanish speaker. That is, her investment in an identity as a Spanish speaker and as a serious student seemed to outweigh any needs to perform social functions like playing or talking about adolescent themes. Although Carolina used more Spanish with classmates than the boys, she used slightly less than Melissa's peer Spanish. Carolina also expressed more resistance to school and to homework than Melissa. It may be that for these four students, the use of Spanish was equated with academic activity, and they used Spanish to the extent that they were interested in promoting identities as good students.

Conclusions

Our data showed slightly less overall Spanish use (56%) than the 63% found by Broner (2000) in regular immersion classrooms, despite the fact that two of our four focal students were native Spanish speakers. This may be due to differences in the ways the teachers enforced the classroom language rules, although this is difficult to quantify and was not a focus of either study. An educator at the Inter-American noted that some Latino students, particularly those who had received ESL services, prefer to use as much English as possible in order to prove their English proficiency. However, neither of the Latino students in our study had required ESL services. Since 45% of the Latino students arrive to the school fluent in English and may become English dominant by the later grades, they may be generally indistinguishable from Spanish L2 students in their quantity of classroom Spanish use.

What other factors may explain these findings? Merino (1991), reviewing the findings of Chesterfield et al. (1983) that students in bilingual programs in Corpus Christi used less Spanish than their counterparts in Milwaukee, suggested that the language community surrounding the school can affect language use within the school because teachers may decide to emphasize the language that is not widely spoken in the area. The Inter-American Magnet School is in Chicago, the third largest Hispanic city in the country, but it is located in Lakeview, a mostly white, upper-class neighborhood. Although 48% of the student body came from neighborhoods with large Hispanic populations[102], these neighborhoods are not as isolated as some Spanish-speaking neighborhoods on the south side, such as Pilsen or La Villita, where students may have higher levels of Spanish proficiency and use than found in my study. I have suggested that Latino students' English proficiency upon first entering the school is likely more relevant than geography when explaining students' classroom language use: 45% of Latino children arrive to the Inter-American already fluent in English (Christian et al. 1997).

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[102] See Appendix G for a zip code map of Chicago that details where all of the school's students lived during the year of this study.

Parker et al. noted that the "bilingual relationship" between students and teacher may also influence the language use of both teachers and students (1995:238). That is, students used both languages with the teacher. The immersion classroom they studied was not the "ideal" immersion design described by Cohen & Swain (1979) in which students had a monolingual Spanish relationship with the Spanish teacher. The same was true in our study, since Ms. Torres taught morning lessons in Spanish and afternoon classes in English. However, this does not explain why less Spanish was used in our study than in Parker et al. (1995) and in Broner (2000), since they, too, studied immersion classrooms with bilingual teacher-student relationships. A future study in a dual immersion classroom in which students have a monolingual relationship with the teacher, such as in sixth grade social studies at the Inter-American, might reveal different Spanish use patterns than found in my study.

Our study suggests that in this particular classroom, the presence of native Spanish-speaking students did not increase overall student Spanish use compared to other studies. Indeed, the student who used the most English was Spanish L1. The Spanish L2 students in my study undoubtedly had more frequent native-speaker Spanish models than if all of their peers had also been Spanish L2, but this did not translate into greater overall use of Spanish. A general sense of diglossia was apparent in that students used Spanish mainly for academic purposes and almost exclusively used English for socializing. The fact that all of the Spanish L1 students in this classroom had been in Chicago since preschool lessened the probability that they would have been exposed to preadolescent Spanish slang.

While it is likely that students learn and maintain more Spanish in dual immersion classrooms than in other program types, diglossia may be inevitable. These findings suggest that students may use more Spanish if closely monitored during groupwork to ensure that they remain on task and in Spanish. Teachers should also elaborate systems to reward Spanish use and to discourage English use that are more relevant to the students, something more successful than the "canicas" were in this classroom. Based on our interpretations of the importance of students' investments in their language use, teachers may also want to: (1) examine bidding and turn-selecting procedures, being careful not to let any students be excluded (as Otto was in this study), and (2) consider ways to encourage student identities as Spanish-speakers, despite the prevalence of English in wider society.

However, simply increasing the amount of Spanish that students use is no guarantee that their proficiency will increase. Future research should examine the kind of activities students carry out (including whether there is a focus on form) and the types of language they produce during different activities, as well as the kind of feedback students receive on their language production.

Contributions to second language acquisition and to heritage language research

The principal contributions of this study to the fields of second language acquisition and heritage language research are (1) a description of the linguistic environment in dual immersion classrooms, and (2) support for the usefulness of the concept of investment when exploring students' language use.

All theories of second language acquisition agree that language input is processed into comprehensible input by the learner (by making form-meaning connections) and is then incorporated into the developing interlanguage system. This system is then accessed in order to produce language output. Of all the elementary school programs in the United States that teach languages other than English, dual immersion is designed to provide the greatest amount of input and to reach the highest goals of language proficiency, since L1 and L2 students are expected to complete grade-level work in both languages. Nearly 100% of the teacher talk in this study was in Spanish, providing rich amounts of input; a future area of research is the structure and content of dual immersion teacher talk.

The principal focus of the present study was the quantity and patterns of dual immersion students' output, also considered important in SLA because it represents opportunities for students to exercise and receive feedback on their developing systems (Swain 1985) and because it serves as L2 input to their classmates during peer interactions and negotiations of meaning. Additionally, Hatch (1978) proposed that conversation leads to the development of syntactic and pragmatic knowledge (which is arguably true for both L1 and L2 students) and Long (1981) emphasized that interaction was necessary for the negotiation of meaning and the creation of comprehensible input. One of the questions addressed by this study was whether the presence of native Spanish speakers resulted in greater Spanish production among students than has been found in regular immersion contexts where all students are L2 learners. It was found that students' L1 was not related to the language of their output. That is, we cannot assume that the presence of Spanish L1 speakers in dual immersion classrooms will result in greater opportunities for Spanish L2 students to receive Spanish input or to produce Spanish output, nor that they will benefit from Spanish L1 interaction partners during peer negotiations of meaning. More important in this study were the ways in which the Spanish language contributed to the identities that students sought to create for themselves. Nor can we assume that putting students into groups with a Spanish language task will result in Spanish use. It was found that students preferred English when talking with each other and used Spanish mainly for talking with the teacher.

The finding that students' bidding strategies were not equally successful at gaining the floor suggests that opportunities to produce output are not equally distributed among students, which makes a further contribution to what is known about dual immersion classrooms and suggests explanations for differential success in classroom SLA. Related to the idea of unequal access to the floor is Norton's (2000) concept of **investment**, which posits that we cannot assume egalitarian relationships between language learners and target language speakers. Unlike Norton, who examined the language production of adult immigrants with their coworkers, our study did not examine power differentials in depth given the obvious power differences between a teacher and her students. However, it is worth noting that Ms. Torres was less willing to grant the floor to Otto than to Melissa (both Spanish L2), which left Otto unable to maximize classroom opportunities to produce Spanish. A researcher working with the concept of motivation might mistakenly conclude that Otto used less Spanish than the other students because he was less motivated to learn it, unaware of the fact that he was positioned by the teacher as a student with somewhat problematic participation and was occasionally silenced by her.

Although power relationships were not the focus of our study, Norton's (2000) work encouraged an exploration of how students' identity investments related to their classroom language production. This framework emphasizes that language learning "is not simply a skill that is acquired with hard work and dedication, but a complex social practice that engages the identities of language learners in ways that have received little attention in the field of SLA" (2000:132). The present study highlighted the various identity investments of four dual immersion students and sought to show how those investments either encouraged or discouraged their Spanish use in the classroom, contributing evidence that language production cannot be separated from contextual and historical factors. This study supports the idea that favorable investments in an identity as a Spanish speaker lead to greater Spanish use in the classroom. The use of interviews with immersion students, called for by Tarone & Swain (1995), proved useful in understanding their classroom language use.

SLA theories like Schumann's acculturation model (1978) recognize the importance of regular contact between language learners and speakers of the target language. However, similarly to Norton (2000), our study suggests that contact alone does not guarantee L2 use. Half of the students in this classroom were native Spanish speakers, yet Spanish was used among peers just 32% of the time. The sociolinguistic characteristics of the classroom and the school in general suggested that although Spanish was reserved for academic topics, English was the language of greater status (cf. Freeman 1998; McCollum 1994).

While the field has not yet developed any formal theories of heritage language development, investment can make an important contribution to understanding how bilingual Spanish speakers decide whether to communicate in their first language, in English, or in codeswitched language. Identity investments seemed just as relevant for Spanish L2 students as they were for native Spanish speakers in this study. For example, Matt appeared more interested in presenting an identity as funny and rebellious than as an on task Spanish speaker, and he used the least Spanish of all four students. Family language practices also appeared to be correlated to classroom language use. Matt's stepfather's lack of Spanish rendered the home mostly English-speaking, while most of Carolina's household activities took place in Spanish.

We agree with Freeman (1998) that dual immersion is an attempt at language planning, and according to Fasold (1984), a successful language planning policy includes measures to influence people's self-identification so that the identity of the target language population becomes desirable. If bilingual youth are to maintain their Spanish language skills to a sufficient degree for them to transmit the language to their own future children, this study suggests that they need to be presented palatable identities as Spanish speakers (cf. Fasold 1984). Dual immersion educators need to explore ways to cultivate students' investments in identities as Spanish-speakers.

However, I believe that the L1 Spanish speakers maintained their Spanish abilities in this dual immersion school far more than they would have in other program types. Since they were highly proficient in English, they most definitely would have been transitioned out of bilingual education into mainstream all-English classes, where they would do no reading, writing, listening, or speaking in Spanish. Since there is no empirical evidence to support this claim, future research could compare the Spanish proficiency of heritage speakers across program types. Similarly, we feel that Spanish L2 students were far more proficient in Spanish than their counterparts in traditional FLES programs.

Limitations & future research

This study presents several limitations. Because it was a case study, the results are not generalizable to other populations. There is a need to carry out more studies of this kind in other dual immersion settings, particularly those with a large number of Spanish dominant students. Furthermore, since investment is a product of students' individual ambitions combined with their local home and school contexts, each student represents a unique set of circumstances. Investment provides a useful research framework to explore the sociocultural context of students' language acquisition and heritage language development and would be a relevant addition to future research in regular immersion, dual immersion, bilingual education, and even foreign language classroom contexts.

The study is susceptible to the weaknesses of all qualitative inquiry. It is possible that the children, parents, and teachers answered my questions in ways that they thought I wanted to hear, and the children may have performed differently in the classroom when being recorded. Future research should conduct more than one interview with students and parents. Students could be asked more direct questions about why they used a given language for a particular classroom exchange (perhaps after viewing themselves in a short video clip recorded in the classroom) and be asked to reflect on how they would feel if a classmate had used the other language under the same circumstances. If they had a classmate like Melissa, they could reflect on her Spanish responses to other peers' English. While coding data for qualitative categories, more questions arose than could be answered in a single study.

The present study did not conduct a statistical significance evaluation of the data, which is why no claims of significant correlations between the nine variables and students' language use could be made. Future research that made such correlations would make an important contribution to the field.

Examination of teacher talk in immersion classrooms, called for by Swain (1985:246), is particularly necessary in dual immersion contexts in order to address the concerns of Valdés (1997) that teachers' Spanish may be slowed down and simplified to accommodate Spanish L2 learners. Our study suggested that no such modifications were made, but empirical evidence is lacking. Similarly, examining the negotiation of meaning between students when they do speak in Spanish would contribute to our understanding of how negotiations between different kinds of speakers (L1 and L2) can affect their language development.

Finally, linguistic characteristics of the output of both Spanish L1 and Spanish L2 students in dual immersion contexts, such as the preterite-imperfect distinction or the use of the subjunctive, would be a valuable area to explore. Such work on L2 interlanguage development is common, but studying heritage Spanish speakers' verbal systems (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994) in dual immersion classrooms may clarify the extent to which these programs can contribute to the development of robust, native-like systems. Future research stemming from this study will look in more detail at the codeswitching data produced by the Spanish L1 students.

Since the quantity and functions of input and output are key factors in language development, dual immersion classrooms are among the richest environments in the country for the exploration of children's language acquisition, heritage language maintenance, and the display of identity investments through language use.

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Appendix A
Student Information

Test scores & ratings of all four students

Name	*L1*	CAL rating, **oral Spanish proficiency***	Teacher rating, **oral Spanish proficiency****	Teacher rating, **participation** during Spanish lessons	Grade 4 National percentile, **ITBS scores: vocabulary, reading, math**	Grade 4 National percentile, ***La Prueba* scores: reading, math (in Spanish)**	Grade 4, Percent correct, **IGAP (Illinois Goals Assessment Program): social sciences, science**
Carolina	Spanish	4.9	5	High	53, 58, 82	82, 62	60, 59
Matt	Spanish	N/A	3+	High	48, 72, 84	82, 80	67, 78
Melissa	English	4.6	3+/4-	Medium/high	80, 94, 95	61, 74	89, 87
Otto	English	3.3	3	Medium/high	36, 51, 74	26, 51	64, 60

*Overall fifth grade average: Spanish L1 = 4.9, English L1 = 4.1.
** Based on a scale of 1 to 5.

Appendix B
Observations in Ms.Torres' Classroom

Date	Amount of time observed	Recorded?
10/1	1 hour	
10/5	1.5 hours	
10/7	1 hour	
10/12	2 hours	
10/18	1 hour	
10/25	1 hour	
10/26	1 hour	
10/28	1 hour	
11/1	6 hours	
11/2	1 hour	
11/5	1 hour	
11/8	4 hours	
11/9	.5 hour	
11/15	1 hour	
11/16	3 hours	
11/18	1 hour	
11/19	1 hour	
11/21	6 hours	
12/13	2 hours	Audio
12/14	1.5 hours	Audio
1/3	3.5 hours	Audio
1/4	3 hours	
1/6	2 hours	Audio & video
1/5	3 hours	Video
1/11	2.5 hours	
1/13	1 hour	
1/24	1 hour	Audio
2/8	1.5 hours	Audio & video
2/9	1 hour	Audio
2/16	1.5 hours	Audio & video
2/22	.5 hours	Audio & video
2/23	2 hours	Audio & video
2/24	1 hour	Audio & video
2/28	1 hour	Audio & video
1/26	3 hours	Audio & video
1/31	2 hours	Audio
3/5	1 hour	Audio & video
3/9	1.5 hours	Audio
3/14	1 hour	Audio
3/15	1 hour	Audio & video
3/16	1 hour	Audio & video
3/20	1 hour	Audio & video
3/22	1 hour	Audio & video
3/28	2 hours	Audio
4/3	2 hours	Audio
4/5	1 hour	Audio
4/10	1 hour	Audio & video
4/12	1 hour	Audio & video
4/25	1 hour	Audio & video
4/27	1 hour	Audio
5/2	1.5 hours	Audio & video
5/3	1 hour	Audio & video
5/4	1 hour	Audio & video
5/10	1.5 hours	Audio & video
5/11	2 hours	Audio & video
5/12	1.5 hours	Audio & video
56 classes	93 hours	35 recordings

Appendix C
Recordings Selected for Analysis

Date	Class	Total mins	TF	GW	Main students Directly by microphone; public & private recorded	Secondary students Only public comments picked up by microphone
December						
1) 12/13	SLAr*[103]	17 min	13 min	4 min	Carolina, Otto	
January						
2) 1/26	SSS	47 min	17 min	21 min	Matt	Carolina, Melissa, Otto
(1/26)	(SSS)			(9 min)	(Carolina)	
February						
3) 2/9	SLAr*	36 min	20 min	16 min		Carolina
4) 2/9	SSS*	14 min	14 min			Carolina
5) 2/16	SLAr	1 hr 14 mins	31 min	45 min	Otto	Carolina, Matt
	Trans	1 min		1 min		
6) 2/23	SLAr	53 min	15 min	38 min	Carolina	
7) 2/28	SLAr	35 min	26 min	9 min	Melissa	
March						
8) 3/14	SLAr*	27 min	15 min	12 min	Carolina	
9) 3/20	SLAr*	42 min	11 min	31 min	Matt, Melissa	
10) 3/22	SLAr	52 min	52 min	0 min	Otto	Carolina, Matt
11) 3/28	SSS	27 min	18 min	9 min	Carolina	Matt, Otto
	Trans	2 mins	2 mins			
April						
12) 4/25	SLAr	55 min	20 min	26 min (9 min silent)	Carolina	Otto, Matt
May						
13) 5/4	SSS	1 hr 9 min	1 hr 9 min	0	Matt, Melissa, Otto	Carolina
	Trans	19 mins	19 mins			
14) 5/5	SSS	48 min	18 min	30 min	Carolina, Otto, Melissa	
	Trans	2 mins	1 min	1 min		
15) 5/11	SLAr	45 min	33 min	0 (12m silent)	Carolina, Matt, Melissa, Otto	
16) 5/12	SLAr	1 hr 30 min	1 hr 5 min	20 min (5 min silent)	Otto, Melissa, Matt	Carolina

Total amount of recorded data: 12 hours 36 mins.
By class type: 8 hours 46 mins SLAr, 3 hours 25 mins SSS, 25 mins transitions.
By participant structure: 7 hours 38 mins TF, 4 hours 58 mins GW

	Carolina	Melissa	Otto	Matt
TOTAL AS MAIN STUDENT	5 hrs 24 min 2 hrs 28 min GW, 2 hrs 50 min TF	5h 40m 1 ½ hrs GW, 4 hrs TF	6hrs 40 m 1 ½ hrs GW, 5 hrs TF	5h 35 min 1 ½ GW, 4 hrs TF
TOTAL AS PUBLIC ONLY	3 hr 8 min TF	48 min TF	55 min TF	2 hrs TF
GRAND TOTAL PER STUDENT	8 hrs 32 mins	6 hrs 31 mins	7 hrs 35 min	7 hrs 35 min

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[103] The symbol "*" means there was no video recording that day.

Appendix D
Written questionnaire

[Written in Spanish on one side and English on the other]

Here are some sentences about Spanish. Please tell me what you think about them by putting a checkmark in the column **that you agree with**. THERE ARE NO WRONG ANSWERS!! Please be as honest as you can.

Please choose ONE answer for each sentence.

	True	Kind of true	Kind of false	False
1. I like to hear people speaking Spanish.				
2. I like to hear people speaking English.				
3. Spanish should be taught at all schools in Chicago.				
4. I like to speak Spanish.				
5. I like to speak English.				
6. I will probably use Spanish when I grow up.				
7. It is important to know Spanish in Chicago.				
8. It is important to know English in Chicago				
9. It is important to know Spanish at the Inter-American School.				
10. It is important to know English at the Inter-American School				
11. I enjoy studying Spanish the way it is taught in school.				
12. I enjoy studying English the way it is taught in school.				
13. Spanish is difficult.				
14. English is difficult.				
15. I need to know Spanish to speak with some people in my family.				
16. When I grow up, I want to marry someone who speaks Spanish.				
17. If I have children, it is important for them to know Spanish.				
18. If I have children, it is important for them to know English.				
19. I would be happy at a school that **did not** teach Spanish.				
20. You need to know Spanish to get a good job.				
21. You need to know English to get a good job.				
22. People who speak Spanish and English can have more friends than people who only know English.				
23. People who know Spanish and English are smarter than people who only know English.				
24. English is really the only language I need.				

Appendix D (continued – Spanish version)

Aquí hay unas opiniones sobre el español. Por favor, dime qué piensas, poniendo una marca en la columna que mejor representa **tu opinión**. ¡NO HAY RESPUESTAS INCORRECTAS! Sé lo más honesto que puedas.

Por favor elige UNA respuesta para cada oración.

	Cierto	Un poco cierto	Un poco falso	Falso
1. Me gusta escuchar a la gente hablando español.				
2. Me gusta escuchar a la gente hablando inglés.				
3. Se debe de enseñar el español en todas las escuelas de Chicago.				
4. Me gusta hablar el español.				
5. Me gusta hablar el inglés.				
6. Probablemente voy a usar el español cuando yo sea grande.				
7. Es importante saber el español en Chicago.				
8. Es importante saber el inglés en Chicago.				
9. Es importante saber el español en la escuela InterAmericana.				
10. Es importante saber el inglés en la escuela InterAmericana.				
11. Me gusta como enseñan el español en la escuela.				
12. Me gusta como enseñan el inglés en la escuela.				
13. El español es difícil.				
14. El inglés es difícil.				
15. Yo necesito saber español para hablar con algunas personas en mi familia.				
16. Cuando yo sea grande, quiero casarme con alguien que hable español.				
17. Si yo tengo hijos, es importante que ellos sepan el español.				
18. Si yo tengo hijos, es importante que ellos sepan el inglés.				
19. Yo estaría contento en una escuela que **NO** enseñara el español.				
20. Uno necesita saber el español para conseguir un buen trabajo.				
21. Uno necesita saber el inglés para conseguir un buen trabajo				
22. La gente que sabe inglés y español pueden tener más amigos que la gente que solamente sabe inglés.				
23. La gente que sabe inglés y español es más inteligente que la gente que solamente sabe inglés.				
24. El inglés es el único idioma que yo necesito.				

Appendix E
Interview Guides

Parent Interview

1) Why did you choose the Inter-American school for your child?

2) What do you think s/he likes about the school?

3) Did s/he ever share with you during the year things s/he doesn't like about it?

4) What can you tell me about the amount of Spanish and English that the students used in 5th grade? How do you feel about that? How do you think your child feels about it?

5) How would you describe your child's progress in Spanish?

6) Does s/he receive help with homework? [If yes:] When homework is in Spanish, who helps her/him?

7) What can you tell me about your child's grades?

8) Can you describe the use of language in your home, so that I can understand how your child learned Spanish and English?

9) Do you think your child will want to continue studying Spanish in high school?

10) Do you think your child will want to speak Spanish when s/he grows up?

Student Interview

1) What language do you speak at home? With whom, when?

2) Is there anyone else with whom you speak Spanish?

3) What TV shows do you watch? What radio stations and music do you listen to? What books do you read?

4) Did you know any Spanish when you got to the Inter-American? How did you learn it? Did you know English? How did you learn it?

5) How do you feel about the Inter-American school? What do you like about it? Do you think there is anything that makes it different from other schools?

6) What are some of the most important things that students need to do to get good grades at this school? How important is it to know Spanish? How important is it to know English?

7) Which of your classes are taught in Spanish? How do you feel about the amount of Spanish in your class? Would you want there to be more Spanish?

8) Why do you think that students sometimes speak English during Spanish class? What does the teacher do if she hears English during Spanish class? How do you feel about that?

9) Which students use a lot of Spanish during Spanish classes?

10) I'll say the names of some of your classmates. Tell me if they are high, medium, or low in their Spanish. Why did you give them that rating? What rating do you give yourself?

11) If there are two students that don't speak Spanish at home, and one of them speaks Spanish much better than the other one, why do you think that is?

12) If one is really low and five is really high, where would you put yourself on your Spanish writing? Listening? Reading? Speaking? Why?

Teacher Interview #1

1) Background questions: place of birth, age of arrival in the United States, language use in the household.

2) How did you decide to become a teacher at the Inter-American?

3) What are your general goals in the classroom?

4) How do you choose which students to put at tables together?

5) How is the school day divided between Spanish and English?

6) How do you encourage the students to use Spanish?

7) Do any students come to mind who use Spanish all the time when they are supposed to? Who are the strongest Spanish speakers in your class? Why do you think students seem to prefer English?

8) Why do some students seem to have more interest in developing their Spanish?

9) How do you decide which students to send to SSL?

10) Does having a good level of Spanish have any positive results for a student? Does having very poor Spanish have any negative repercussions?

11) Do younger students tend to use more Spanish?

12) Could a school do more than the Inter-American does to promote Spanish language development?

Appendix E, continued

13) Do you think the students in this school will want to speak Spanish with their children?

Teacher Interview #2

1) Please explain the *canica* (marble) system for encouraging students' Spanish use. From whom have you taken away lots of *canicas*? What do you think their reaction is when they lose one? Do they change their behavior?

2) Do students feel any motivation to use Spanish besides the fear of losing a *canica*?

3) What do the other fifth grade teachers do to encourage Spanish use among their students?

4) Have you noticed any difference in students' language use between social studies and language arts?

5) On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate Carolina, Matt, Melissa and Otto on their Spanish reading, writing, listening, and speaking? Why?

6) How would you describe the general attitude of each of the four students toward Spanish?

7) How do you decide whether to ask a student to repeat in Spanish something they have said in English?

8) Have you ever noticed students using Spanish during English class?

9) How would you compare the four students' participation in Spanish classes versus their participation in English classes?

10) How would you describe each of the four students to next year's teachers?

Appendix F
Transcription Conventions

/ Speaker was cut off. Example:

Matt: Después, um, um, the plane, como, el avión/
Ms. Torres: ¿Aterrizó?

... Short pause, ½ second to 1 ½ seconds. Example:

La que... Estados Unidos tenía con México.

[*Italics*] The text in italics between brackets is describing the context or actions. Example:

[*Reading Matt's summary*]
[*Laughs*]

Underlined Speaker placed stress on the word or syllable. Example:

Yeah, la guerra paró cuando firmaron el contrato.
¿Hermano? Hermana.

XX Speech was inaudible. Example:

Oh, for the fourth grade XX or whatever?

(word) Speech not entirely audible; an approximation of what was heard. Example:

Lo usan para hacer las puntas de las (lanchas).

Appendix G
Interlocutor by Student

	To teacher			To peers		
	Spanish N=794	**English** N=171	**Total** N=965	**Spanish** N=347	**English** N=738	**Total** N=1,085
Carolina	270	26	296	123	171	294
% of individual total	91%	9%	100%	42%	58%	100%
% of corpus	34%	15%	31%	35%	23%	27%
Matt	195	41	236	53	238	291
% of individual total	83%	17%	100%	18%	82%	100%
% of corpus	25%	24%	24%	15%	32%	27%
Melissa	112	15	127	107	106	213
% of individual total	88%	12%	100%	50%	50%	100%
% of corpus	14%	9%	13%	31%	14%	20%
Otto	216	89	305	65	223	288
% of individual total	71%	29%	100%	23%	77%	100%
% of corpus	27%	52%	32%	19%	30%	27%

Appendix H
Zip codes of students' homes

During the school year 1999-2000, the students who attended the Inter-American Magnet School came from the following areas, as determined by the zip codes reported on their home address information sheets.

VITA

Kim Potowski was raised on Long Island, New York. She graduated from Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri with a Bacherlor of Arts in Spanish. In 1992 she began her graduate studies in applied linguistics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where she received her Master's in 1994. In 1995 she moved to Mexico City, where she spent two years teaching English at the Tecnológico de Monterrey University, Campus Estado de México. In 1998, after three months in France and another three in Reno, Nevada, she returned to Urbana-Champaign, and upon finishing her doctoral coursework she moved to Chicago to begin teaching at the University of Illinois at Chicago and to collect data for this dissertation. In Fall 2002 she will join the faculty at the University of Illinois at Chicago as Assistant Professor of Spanish, where she will direct both the Teacher Education program and the Spanish for Heritage Speakers program.

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